THE Nation.

OBAMA'S HOUSING RESCUE
Christopher Hayes

CRISIS OF FAITH
JoAnn Wypijewski

THE STRUGGLE FOR TIBET
Amy Yee

MARCH 16, 2009
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A GLOBAL GREEN DEAL
MARK HERTSGAARD

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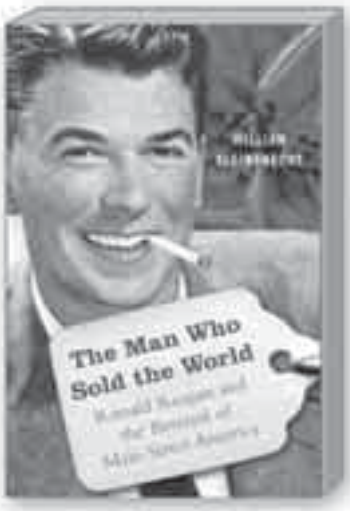
THE MAN
and *THE*
CORPORATION



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The Nation.
CUT THE MILITARY BUDGET!
THOSE PESKY BLUE DOGS
PAY-GAP POPULISM
KAFKA: THE MISSING PERSON
THE MAN WHO WANTS TO LOOT SOCIAL SECURITY
PETE PETERSON AND THE DC ESTABLISHMENT'S POWER PLAY

The Future of Social Security

New York City

William Greider's "The Man Who Wants to Loot Social Security" [March 2] grossly misrepresents Pete Peterson and the Peter G. Peterson Foundation's views on Social Security reform and overlooks some large and inescapable truths.

Both Republicans and Democrats in Washington have charged everything to the nation's credit card, including tax cuts and spending increases, without paying for them. Washington's imprudent, unethical and even immoral behavior is facilitated by a lack of transparency and accountability. As of September 30, 2008, the government was in a $56 trillion-plus fiscal hole, according to its official financial consolidated statements. This amount is equal to $483,000 per household and $184,000 per American. Left unchecked, this burden will rise every year by $6,600 to $9,900 per person, even with a balanced budget.

The nation's bedrock social safety programs, Medicare and Social Security, are not in danger of being looted—they already have been looted. The government has already spent any related surplus and replaced it with nonmarketable IOUs, which it doesn't even consider liabilities. In addition, Medicare is already drawing down on these IOUs, and Social Security will start doing so within ten years.

Greider is correct in saying that the government will have to repay what it borrows from Social Security—but how will it do so, and what level of tax burdens will be required to meet our growing Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid obligations without fundamental reforms?

As a US comptroller general from 1998 to 2008 and a former public trustee of Social Security and Medicare, I share Pete Peterson's deep commitment to preserving a strong, sustainable safety net for all Americans, including seniors. And contrary to the impression one could draw from Greider's article, Pete and I both support the concept of a sound defined-benefit program for Social Security supplemented by additional automatic savings accounts for individuals.

At the same time, Pete and I also believe that the process one employs is critically important when transformational changes are needed. We have sadly concluded that the "regular order" in Congress is broken and that achieving progress on multiple fronts within a short time frame is not possible on a piecemeal basis.

What does this mean? The president and Congress need to work together to establish a Fiscal Future Commission (or task force), which, unlike most Washington commissions, would be designed to accelerate action and get the ball across the goal line rather than punt it down the field. Ideally, this bipartisan commission would be created by statute to ensure buy-in from Congress and the president. It should include selected and diverse members of Congress and of the administration as well as nongovernment officials. It should engage the public outside the Beltway, including by leveraging digital technology and the web. Everything, including budget controls, entitlement reforms, spending constraints and tax increases, would be on the table. After engaging the public and key stakeholders, it would make a range of recommendations that would be subject to an up-or-down vote in Congress.

Greider is incorrect in claiming that such a commission would be a backdoor attempt to cut benefits or "dismantle the Social Security entitlement." A commission, and ultimately Congress and the president, would be required to look at many alternative solutions to these structural fiscal challenges and make recommendations designed to put us on a more prudent and sustainable path.

It is disappointing that Greider and *The Nation* on its misleading cover have used hyperbole to falsely impress upon readers that Pete Peterson is trying to "loot Social Security," or that he is alone in trying to address Social Security's financial challenges. Indeed, a growing number of prominent individuals spanning the ideological spectrum support the need for dramatic and fundamental reforms of several

(continued on page 22)

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Obama's Call to Action

In his address to Congress and the American people, President Obama delivered a strong statement on the need for government to act "boldly and wisely" to lift us out of our current crisis.

In a speech that rightly focused on the recession, Obama acted almost as Explainer in Chief in laying out his short- and long-term plans for American reconstruction. He championed a recovery plan that he said had already begun to put people to work, and he vowed that his mortgage initiative would give aid only to those who are in trouble through no fault of their own. He condemned the Bush administration's bank bailout, using populist rhetoric against shameless Wall Street profiteers.

EDITORIAL

Obama then made a powerful case for sustained public investment in areas vital to our future—in the transition to renewable energy, reform of our broken healthcare system and guarantee of world-class education from childhood through college. Despite public concern about rising deficits, and Beltway pundits calling on Obama to limit his agenda, he refused to back down from his campaign pledges.

In a riff not heard from a president since Roosevelt, Obama scorned the greed of wealthy CEOs and made the case that activist government has long been the signature of American success: "I reject the view that says our problems will simply take care of themselves, that says government has no role in laying the foundation for our common prosperity, for history tells a different story. History reminds us that, at every moment of economic upheaval and transformation, this nation has responded with bold action and big ideas."

The Republican response, from Louisiana Governor Bobby Jindal, once again recycled the discredited conservative mantra that government can't work. Jindal, who demonstrated how the GOP has become the party of No when he refused to accept recovery-plan funding to extend unemployment benefits to part-time workers, proved that his party is clueless about what to do or say about the debacle it created.

Obama's speech, while powerful in arguing for an activist government, still raised questions about whether the administration is acting "boldly and wisely" enough. His actions seem too cautious for the times. The stimulus is too small, diluted by ineffective tax cuts that will produce few jobs. The financial rescue plan has not yet embraced the decisive government action needed to reorganize the zombie banks and get the credit system flowing.

Obama pledged to halve the deficit by the end of his first term, largely by doing the right thing—cutting military spending on Iraq, eliminating insurance company subsidies, reducing agribusiness giveaways and raising taxes on the wealthy. But to accept as a principle that the deficit is a crucial problem is exceedingly dangerous; a premature focus on budget-balancing could deepen what is the worst recession in a generation.

Foreign policy understandably got little attention in the speech. But the costs of escalating our presence in Afghanistan could suck us into a quagmire that sinks our domestic hopes. Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty was lost in the jungles of Vietnam. We must work to ensure that Obama's investment in America's future isn't squandered in the mountains of Afghanistan.

But these questions should not distract from what was an eloquent call to mobilize Americans for a new era of progressive reform and common purpose.

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News & Analysis

Thomas Ferguson & Robert Johnson: Nationalize banks? Think twice

Barbara Ehrenreich: My torture story

Video: JoAnn Wypijewski on recovered memory

Tell *The Nation*: How recession hits home

Obama ♥ Carrots

100 DAYS

The cardinal principle of the Obama Way of Governance is that he will never use a stick if he thinks he can get away with a carrot. This has been clear since the early days of the presidential primary, when he criticized Hillary Clinton for her plan to mandate that people purchase health insurance. It's been the tragic flaw in the administration's (mis)handling of TARP funds. Yet in crafting a policy to keep homeowners out of foreclosure, the White House seems to have gotten the mix of carrots and sticks just about right.

If that comes as a surprise, it's likely because reaction to the plan came to be dominated by Rick Santelli's rich-guys-gone-wild rant on CNBC. But the stakeholders most invested in the proposal greeted it with near-unanimous approval. The chief economist for the National Association of Realtors told me its provisions for underwater homeowners were "superb." The Center for Responsible Lending (CRL), which sounded some of the earliest warnings about abusive practices in the subprime market, called it "a huge step forward for the entire country." "It's absolutely very carrot-driven," says housing expert Alyssa Katz, author of the forthcoming *Our Lot: How Real Estate Came to Own Us*. "In some ways it's a brilliant plan."

The mortgage crisis is exactly the kind of problem that's right in the Obama policy shop's wheelhouse. Foreclosure is a lose-lose-lose. It's devastating for the families, expensive for lenders and bad for the neighbors who see their property values decline. In other words, loan modifications, in which lenders lower interest rates, are logical for all parties.

The Bush administration responded to this set of facts by shrugging its shoulders and left it to industry to create a voluntary loan modification system. The result was the Hope Now Alliance, which consisted of a hot line and not much else. It was a flop: according to CRL, only an estimated 20 percent of Hope Now loan modifications result in reduced payments. ACORN's Austin King, who has been advocating on behalf of imperiled homeowners for years, calls Hope Now a "national joke with a tragic punch line." He adds that it "isn't just useless; it's counterproductive."

The Obama policy-makers recognized that although it's in everyone's interest to make large-scale loan modifications, that doesn't mean it will just happen automatically—it will happen only if government steps in to create incentives. Loan servicers, for example, are entitled to collect fees in the event of foreclosure but not for processing loan modifications. So the new policy gives servicers who initiate a modification a $500 bonus.

Similarly, loan modifications that have been enacted typically have brought the monthly mortgage payment down to around 38 percent of a homeowner's income. But this is still a heavy burden for families struggling with other payments, and within six months, 55 percent of modified loans are again delinquent. Under the White House proposal, after lenders get the loan down to 38 percent, the government helps subsidize the mortgage payments to bring them down to a more manageable 31 percent of income.

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Noted.

MOVING ON: **Justin Ruben**, the new executive director of **MoveOn.org**, brought a message from his 5 million members when he met with President **Barack Obama** at a small White House gathering for allies on February 18. "This is a moment to go big," he said, citing daily conversations with MoveOn activists. "We understand that's not going to be easy, but people are mobilized and willing to fight to make it happen. That's really what I carried with me into that room," he told *The Nation*, in his first interview since taking the helm of one of the country's largest progressive organizations.

Ruben, who has organized for labor, trade and environmental groups, must take a network that has long battled bad ideas—impeaching **Bill Clinton**, invading Iraq, gutting Social Security—and adapt it to supporting and broadening the administration's agenda. "We're in this amazing position now where we get to fight for stuff," he says. MoveOn's four "core" policy areas, decided by members during December house meetings, are economic recovery, universal healthcare, climate change and ending the Iraq War. Ruben does not expect ending the war in Afghanistan, where Obama is deploying additional troops, to make the list. The "overwhelming priority" is still Iraq, he says; while his members are concerned about Afghanistan, they tend to "differ on what ought to be done about it." ARI MELBER

BUSH ON TRIAL? The question of how to hold **George W. Bush** and his associates accountable remains open. Proposals range from the establishment of a South African–style "truth commission" to Congressional inquiries to full-blown prosecutions. The call for prosecutions got a boost February 24 when many of the nation's leading peace and social justice groups urged Attorney General **Eric Holder** to "appoint a non-partisan independent Special Counsel to immediately commence a prosecutorial investigation into the most serious alleged crimes of former President George W. Bush, former Vice President **Richard B. Cheney**, the attorneys formerly employed by the Department of Justice whose memos sought to justify torture, and other former top officials of the Bush Administration."

Signing on to the request were the **Center for Constitutional Rights**, the **National Lawyers Guild** and the **American Freedom Campaign**, as well as **Peace Action**, **United for Peace and Justice**, **Code Pink**, **Veterans for Peace**, **Iraq Veterans Against the War** and more than two dozen other national and regional groups. Their argument? "Our laws…require the prosecution of crimes that strong evidence suggests these individuals have committed. Both the former president and the former vice president have confessed to authorizing a torture procedure that is illegal under our law and treaty obligations. The former president has confessed to violating the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act." Arguing that the most effective investigation can be conducted by a prosecutor, the groups make a convincing case that "an investigation should begin immediately." JOHN NICHOLS

MARITAL DISCORD: The Nigerian Assembly is poised to pass the Same Gender Marriage (Prohibition) Bill, which would make privately performed same-sex marriages punishable by up to three years in prison. It would also grant the government broad power to investigate and prosecute personal associations, targeting anyone who "witnesses, abet[s] and aids the solemnization of a same gender marriage" with up to five years in prison. Citing a link between sodomy and HIV infection, proponents of the marriage act frame it as an HIV prevention measure.

The bill "threatens basic freedoms by punishing human rights defenders who speak out for unpopular causes," said **Georgette Gagnon**, Africa director of **Human Rights Watch**. HRW helped coordinate a statement against the bill signed by twenty-five civil liberties, gay rights and religious groups, including **Changing Attitude Nigeria** and Nigeria's **Legal Defense and Assistance Project**. The **EU Intergroup** on gay rights has called for a suspension of foreign aid to the country.

While sixty-six UN members have supported the decriminalization of homosexuality, Nigeria—home to antigay Episcopalian Archbishop **Peter Akinola**—has trended the other way. Despite well-documented abuses against gays and lesbians, **Ojo Madueke**, Nigeria's minister for foreign affairs, recently denied the existence of organized gay Nigerians in testimony before a UN human rights committee: "We have no record of any group of Nigerians who have come together under the umbrella of 'Lesbian, Gay and Transgender' group."

If Nigeria's antigay campaigners get their way, Madueke's fanciful statement may become truth. Facing violence, death threats and imprisonment in their home country, Nigerian gay rights activists have been fleeing to Britain—like **Bisi Alimi** and **Davis Mac-Iyalla**, who were granted asylum in 2008. The Rev. **Jide Macaulay**, a gay pastor who organized a gay rights conference attended by more than a hundred Nigerians, also fled to Britain last year after being threatened with arrest. GABRIEL G. ARANA

THIS SEAT TAKEN? Former Senator **Norm Coleman**'s desperate attempt to cling to the seat that the official recount says he lost in November keeps getting dealt legal setbacks. The three-judge panel of Minnesota jurists reviewing Coleman's demand that the courts overturn **Al Franken**'s 225-vote win has repeatedly rejected Coleman's request to include ballots that were rejected as illegitimate or uncountable by local election officials. So why would top Republican senators chip in $10,000 apiece to maintain Coleman's recount fight? And why would the **Republican National Committee** transfer $250,000 to the Minnesota GOP for the same purpose?

Ideally, Senate Republicans would like to reseat Coleman. But even if their money goes to perpetuate endless legal wrangling, **Mitch McConnell** and his partisan colleagues still come out ahead. As long as the seat remains vacant, the GOP is better positioned to filibuster in the Senate, where Democrats hold fifty-eight of the sixty seats needed to force a vote. Seating Franken would make it easier for the White House and Congressional Democrats to pressure individual Republican senators to cooperate, especially on critical economic issues. So, despite the fact that Minnesota is underrepresented, don't look for Senate Republicans or the RNC to abandon Coleman's no-hope quest anytime soon. JOHN NICHOLS

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"After years of banging our heads," King tells me, "we finally have a federal government using all of the tools in its tool belt." King was serious about all the tools. Unlike the mortgage bankers and others who admired the proposal's elegant nudges, King was most enthusiastic about the parts of the proposal that promised a stiff shove.

The first, King says, "is the judicial modifications." For several years ACORN, CRL and Congressional progressives have pushed for a reform to bankruptcy law that would allow judges to modify mortgage terms on a primary residence. On the campaign trail Obama had signaled support for the proposal, but since becoming president, King notes, "he's rolled us on this twice. On the first TARP debate, he said we should not include bankruptcy protection. Then on the stimulus, he said we should not include bankruptcy protections. And a lot of us worried that his objections were more substantive than procedural." In his housing speech, however, Obama finally made his support for the reform clear; the House, at the time of this writing, is poised to bring it to the floor.

"The other stick," King says, is finally attaching some mandates to the "boatload of money we're putting into Wall Street." The plan will require bailed-out firms to put in place a system for across-the-board loan modifications similar to that implemented by the FDIC with the now-defunct IndyMac. Those modifications haven't been a panacea, but they have already modified 11,000 loans, saving investors and lenders $49,000 per loan.

This is all significant progress over the callous inaction of the Bush administration. But though the Obama foreclosure plan threads the needles of the various interests, there is still a lot of painful stitching left. The main problem at the heart of the real estate and financial crises is that hundreds of billions, perhaps trillions, of dollars that were once part of the economy now aren't.

Former IMF chief economist Simon Johnson recently wrote that in his experience with financial crises around the world, resolution can come only when the entrenched power of the big banks is dislodged. "Fully escaping the grip of crisis," he wrote, "really means breaking their power."

You can't do that with carrots. The sooner the White House realizes that, the better.

CHRISTOPHER HAYES

Calvin Trillin, Deadline Poet

Pundits Say Washington Must Instill Confidence

The pundits say Obama must discuss
Our plight but sound much less like Gloomy Gus:
We need the-only-thing-we-have-to-fear leaders,
Or, failing that, the Dallas Cowboy cheerleaders.

Crisis of Faith

Sex panics make for bad law. It could be said that they make for bad science, too, except that what has driven some of the most notorious legal cases to emerge from such panics has been more a masquerade of science, a belief tricked out in the language of medicine and social science to distract from the mumbo jumbo at its core. The Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court is set to be the latest arena to test that belief, taking up the admissibility of "dissociative amnesia," or "repressed memory," in a case that some powerful interests no doubt hoped was as settled as the grave.

The petitioner is Paul Shanley, a once famous "street priest" who became infamous in the sex abuse scandal in the Catholic Church, was tried in 2005, convicted and sentenced to twelve to fifteen years in prison. Because the media, particularly the *Boston Globe*, were central to the allegations and the frenzy that provided the context, it has always been difficult to see the case plainly. But because justice, as opposed to its many stand-ins, is blind, imagine yourself or one you love as the defendant at the bar.

In October 2004 Dr. Daniel Brown, a Boston psychologist, took the witness stand in a pretrial hearing at Middlesex Superior Court and offered what would become the state's only foundation for its prosecution. There was no evidence in the case, just a claim that depended entirely on faith. Dr. Brown was in the courtroom to give it the imprimatur of science.

The accuser asserted that from the age of 6, in 1983, he had been raped and otherwise indecently assaulted by the defendant for three years in a busy church on Sunday mornings. Each assault, it was alleged, instantly erased his memory of what had just happened, so that the boy re-approached the defendant in a state of innocent unknowing, to be assaulted again, to forget everything again and again, and then move on in life without the slightest inkling of the experience until twenty years later, when it all came back to him.

Dr. Brown had appeared as a certified expert in courtrooms for years, stating that the mind's capacity for such "massive repression" was generally accepted as demonstrable fact in the psychological professions. That was always false. By 2004, however, as compellingly detailed in documents now before the Supreme Judicial Court, the literature in major scientific publications questioning the validity of repressed memory was weighty. Many of the therapists whose work Brown recommended had been disgraced, stripped of their licenses and revealed as dangerous frauds in successful malpractice suits.

Brown's own testimony had been rejected as unreliable by courts in New Hampshire and Rhode Island. Nevertheless, he was the expert favored by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and defense counsel offered not a single study or witness to rebut. Almost fifty years of research on memory and trauma, involving 120 studies and more than 14,000 people with documented experiences of rape, sexual abuse, torture, death camps, war or other horrors, reveals no evidence of repressed memory—that is, an inability to remember that cannot be explained by ordinary forgetting, infantile amnesia, intoxication or brain

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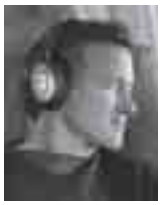

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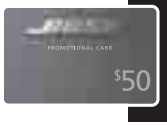

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injury. Ignorant of that record, Judge Stephen Neel ruled that "the theory of repressed memory is generally accepted by the relevant scientific community." Thus, it was deemed admissible to buttress the criminal allegations.

When prosecutors first brought those, in 2002, there were four complainants, all friends or acquaintances, who reported identical experiences of sexual abuse, immediate memory loss and instantaneous remembering within a few days of one another. This quadruple "recovery" of memory began when one of them read an article in the *Globe*.

Although, as initially charged, the defendant was a man who had had "unnatural sexual intercourse" with four small children in the same period, at the same time on Sundays, in the same circumstances for years, there was never any physical evidence. No blood, no rips, no teary eyes or flushed faces or even dishevelment among the boys. None of the many people who were in the church every week when these crimes were supposedly happening, including the mother of one of the boys, ever noticed a thing. No one saw any of the boys alone with the defendant. No one corroborated essential details of their stories; in fact, many witnesses, including the accuser's mother-in-law, who was also on the scene every week, contradicted them.

Ultimately the DA dropped three men from the case, their shaky claims further burdened by mental illness, gambling, drug use, prison time and prior statements of being raped by family members. The last man standing had been in the Air Force and was a newly married fireman at the time of trial. Under oath he re-remembered some of his "memories" differently. The prosecution's expert witness, a confederate of Dr. Brown called Dr. James Chu, testified that this was perfectly consistent with dissociative amnesia. Every contradiction in the accuser's story, like every problem in his past, was only further proof of sexual abuse and of his sincerity.

Dr. Chu's testimony revealed the leap of faith at the heart of repressed memory belief. "There are patients who report no amnesia," he said, "and I don't know whether they in fact have no amnesia or that they just haven't yet remembered something that they forgot." Defense counsel floundered in the face of this purported scientific expertise. Dr. Chu admitted that the concept of the brain erasing all knowledge of a traumatic event until some mysterious mechanism unlocks the deep freeze of memory "doesn't make a lot of intuitive sense." He was relying on the stories patients told him, the symptoms from which a therapist can "construct meaning," as Dr. Brown had put it, and the studies based on people's self-reporting, without controls, methodological standards, error rates; in other words, without scientific validity.

In the absence of effective cross-examination or an informed defense, though, Dr. Chu's testimony conferred the aura of a scientific benediction. Use your "common sense," the prosecutor told the jury; believe the expert, believe the victim. She hadn't proved a thing, but the jury believed them.

Almost no one in the press questioned the "science." Scandal had been so profitable. After Roderick MacLeish Jr., a personal injury lawyer who brought a civil case on behalf of the four accusers, held a dramatic PowerPoint press conference in 2002, the *Globe* pronounced the priest "depraved" and went on to collect its Pulitzer for retailing MacLeish's most inflammatory claims. The immense documentary record on Shanley never supported them, so the *Globe*'s reporters (and others from *The Advocate* to the *New York Times* to *Vanity Fair*) either never analyzed the documents independently or misrepresented them. Nor did they submit their interviews to the most basic checks of rational skepticism.

Shanley had had sex. He'd had sex with hustlers and teenagers and other men. And he, a priest, had lied about it. That anyone else might be lying, or confused, or seeking attention, or wanting money, or needing an explanation for the mess of a life only muddied up a good gothic tale. When the church defrocked Shanley and, against its attorneys' advice, settled the civil case, paying the accuser, Paul Busa, $500,000 and paying the troubled friend whose claims had set off the chain reaction of recovered memories, Gregory Ford, $1.4 million, it handed down one more pretrial guilty verdict. "Even if Shanley didn't rape those kids," went the common line, "he did something." Nobody knew, amid all the monster-making, that the DA had offered Shanley a deal: plead guilty and avoid prison. He refused.

When the Supreme Judicial Court hears arguments in May, it will consider the issues that, without the impedimenta of panic and prejudice, always made this a case about due process and equal treatment under the law. Shanley's new lawyer, Robert Shaw Jr., is not asking the court to divine Busa's veracity or even to determine that the hypothesis of repressed memory is, finally, true or false. That, he asserts, is the function of scientific research. To date, the research shows that the hypothesis is unproven. And so long as it is unproven, it is inadmissible in court. Shaw argues that Shanley had ineffective counsel on this and other matters, and he is seeking a new trial.

This will be the first time a Massachusetts court fully considers the scientific, evidentiary basis for repressed memory. The Commonwealth is behind the curve. Since 1998 state courts have been dismissing repressed memory as junk science, and prosecutions based on it have become rare. In 2007 an Indiana court rejected Dr. Brown's testimony as misleading, and a federal judge threw out a $1.75 million verdict in a case that hinged on Brown's expertise. In a 2006 amicus brief, dozens of pre-eminent social science researchers stated, "Decades of research and scientific debate have clarified over and over again that the notion of traumatic events being somehow 'repressed' and later accurately recovered is one of the most pernicious bits of folklore ever to infect psychology and psychiatry." Which is why Massachusetts matters beyond the fate of one man. People who may not believe in God or aliens believe in repressed memory, with no more justification and maybe less. The source of that belief is by now a tangled web, but one of its strands leads back decades to liberals and do-gooders, feminists and therapists in Massachusetts. Their ideas ruined hundreds of lives, and their acolytes, who cheered Shanley's conviction and were rewarded for abetting it, ought to be disabused of the pretension that they served something other than faith-based justice.

JoANN WYPIJEWSKI

JoAnn Wypijewski reported extensively on the Shanley case in Legal Affairs *(September/October 2004).*

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Eric Alterman

War Is Over (If You Want It)

Have you heard that we won the Iraq War? Well, sure, we've still got 142,000 troops there, we're spending $12 billion per month on it and hundreds of Iraqis per week are dying violent deaths. What's more, none of the fundamental political questions that divide Iraq's murderous factions have been settled, and the place is poised to collapse into genocidal anarchy—which might engulf the entire region—should President Obama withdraw our troops too hastily. So we're going to have to stay, well, perhaps forever.

Why, you may ask, would I call such a catastrophic situation "victory"? Well, I read it in the *Wall Street Journal* editorial pages, and they would never lie to me. There, George W. Bush's chief speechwriter, Marc Thiessen, explains, "As Mr. Bush leaves office, Iraq is a unified and free country, and our enemies there have suffered a devastating defeat. If his successor does not squander that victory, a free Iraq will one day be to the Middle East what a free South Korea has been to Asia." This view is dutifully seconded by ex-McCain flack Michael Goldfarb in *The Weekly Standard*: "Obama has inherited victory in Iraq.… The victory in Iraq is Obama's to lose." Goldfarb trots out the old "even the liberal *New Republic*" cliché, thirty years after its sell-by date, by adding "even liberals like [ex–*New Republic* editor] Peter Beinart are demanding that their fellow Democrats admit their mistake." Perhaps Goldfarb is genuinely unaware that the "liberal" *New Republic* has championed neoconservative wars for longer than most of our soldiers have been alive, or that in 2003 *TNR* editor Beinart was one of the war's most vociferous supporters. (He has since retracted his support and apologized.) But Goldfarb must have been aware—since it appeared in the same column he quoted—that Beinart also added, "Iraq watchers warn that communal distrust remains high; if someone strikes a match, civil war could again rage out of control." Beinart also noted that whatever happened, it wouldn't "justify the Bush administration's initial decision to go to war, which remains one of the great blunders in American foreign policy history." But like Thiessen, and echoed by many of the same neoconnish voices that misled the nation into this costly quagmire, Goldfarb is ruling reality out of bounds in the service of setting President Obama up for failure. This has been the strategy of the losing side in the last election, and it is one that the Obama administration and its supporters ignore at their peril.

I first noticed this phenomenon just before the inauguration, when I did a *Hardball* spot with a Bush flack named Ron Christie. I later learned from his bio that Christie's "depth of knowledge and service in the American political scene, combined with his unique experience at the highest levels of global and domestic policy-planning, makes him one of the leading authorities on the state of the world today." This is good to know because during our brief tête-à-tête with Chris Matthews, the man gave every appearance of being seriously deranged. Our topic was whether, after eight years of his presidency, Bush had succeeded in uniting or dividing the nation. Christie answered the question by explaining that Bush had united America because he kept us safe. He kept repeating this, apparently unaware that even if it were true, it had nothing to do with the question. Is Canada united because it has not been attacked? Is Bosnia? Is Iran? Were Spain and England attacked to call attention to their internal divisions? Though he may not have understood this, Christie's views echoed those expressed by Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell, who blamed the 9/11 attacks on God's anger at America for its toleration of abortion, homosexuals and the like—to say nothing of the responsibility for the attacks his argument implies for the fellow who happened to be president while our intelligence agencies were asleep at the switch.

In the context of our discussion, Christie's robotic responses were a bit baffling. But in the context of a White House memo leaked in December, his comments—like so many we heard in Bush's final days—became intelligible. Bush "kept the American people safe," the memo told his flacks. And in their endless exit interviews, Bush and Cheney returned to this talking point. Here's Cheney with Fox's Chris Wallace: "The actions that we took, based on the president's decisions and based on some outstanding work by the intelligence community and by the military, has produced a safe seven and a half years." And again, to CBS's Mark Knoller: "We've managed to keep the nation safe from further terrorist attacks for the last seven and a half years." At the same time we heard from ex-Reagan speechwriter Peggy Noonan in the *Journal*: "At least Bush kept us safe." Bush speechwriter Peter Wehner added in *USA Today*, "Bush Kept U.S. Safe." And on it went.

In fact, this claim, too, is nonsense. Sixteen US intelligence agencies reporting together in 2006 found that Bush's misadventure in Iraq has "helped spawn a new generation of Islamic radicalism," according to the *New York Times*, and that "the overall terrorist threat has grown since the September 11 attacks." A 150-page Government Accountability Office report issued in November found virtually every agency in Bush's government woefully unprepared to "keep us safe." For instance, the Department of Homeland Security "lacks not only a comprehensive strategy with overall goals and a timeline but also a dedicated management integration team to support its management integration efforts." It has failed to coordinate with other agencies such as FEMA, the Justice Department or the Agriculture Department to undertake the most fundamental survival tasks in the event of disaster.

In fact, Bush left the nation in greater peril than it was in on August 6, 2001, when he was informed that Osama bin Laden was "determined to attack in US" and responded, "All right, you've covered your ass now," before deciding to spend the rest of the day fishing. You can look it up. ■

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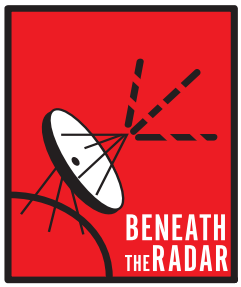
Gary Younge

Precarious Populism

When I was a student in the Soviet Union, during Gorbachev's final months, my landlady used to take the dog out for a walk at the same time every night. Since it was winter and I am no dog lover, I decided not to join her. But when the weather cleared up I once accompanied her and found that she met several other local dog owners at exactly the same time. The timing, it turned out, was no coincidence. They called it Dog Hour—the moment when the state-sponsored news program *Vremya* came on, and they therefore left the house.

Frustrated as they were, none suspected that the superpower state they found so maddening would soon collapse. The party was still in control and the state had a formidable military at its disposal. But what was clear from this nightly routine of passive resistance was that the system had not only failed in its mission to deliver goods and services to the people; it had lost all credibility with them. It had power but lacked influence.



Following the news over the past few months, I have felt like taking a quick walk around the block myself. Watching global capitalism disintegrate in real time is a dizzying experience.

On the one hand, the established power structure remains. Congress deliberates, bankers testify and a popular president offers reassuring words during prime time.

On the other, its influence wanes. Most people believe the bailout will help bankers rather than all Americans. Every time the treasury secretary seeks to comfort the markets the Dow plummets; on Friday, February 13, more banks failed in one day than went down in the whole of 2007. Ill omens indeed.

Such situations provide tremendous opportunities for the left. Not because we delight in people's misery but because we have a coherent and consistent explanation as to what and who made them miserable and what they might do about it. Moments of economic crisis create an audience eager for alternatives. With capitalism's inherent contradictions laid bare, our task of building the framework for a fairer world becomes easier.

But the belief that a better world is possible should not prevent us from seeing that a far worse world is possible also. Populism is a volatile force. Devoid of agenda, social base or organizational coherence, it can bring people out on the streets. But there is no saying what they will do once they get there. Global capitalism is a worthy but elusive target. Jews, Gypsies, Muslims or "foreigners" are accessible if inadequate scapegoats. The last time things looked this bad globally, we ended up with Nazism, fascism and war.

The balance of forces is precarious. Ideologically, the left is strong. We have been elaborating a critique of this period of global capitalism for at least the past two decades, and for at least one of them, people have been listening. And unlike in the '30s, we do not have the moral dead weight and strategic conundrum of Stalinism to deal with.

But organizationally and electorally, we are weak. Generally speaking, we have no huge parties, our social movements have been decimated and our union movements are in disarray.

Social unrest is gaining pace. In December the Kremlin flew riot police to Vladivostok to crush demonstrations against new taxes on imported cars. In February the Élysée flew riot police to the French Caribbean island of Guadeloupe, where there has been a general strike for more than a month, with protesters demanding lower prices and higher wages. In February half a million truckers brought Mexico's national highways to a halt, demanding lower diesel prices. Britain has seen wildcat strikes at oil refineries over the employment of foreign workers at lower wages. Latvia, Greece, Chile and Iceland have all seen huge protests. For now most of the action is not taking place on center stage. But it is only a matter of time before it spreads from the margins to the mainstream.

The most likely immediate response to this will be massive state clampdowns. Recently more than 3,000 public security directors in China went to Beijing to learn how to prevent rallies and strikes before they turn into "mass incidents."

In Russia Gennady Gudkov, former KGB colonel and current chair of the Duma's security committee, said, "We are expecting mass unemployment and mass riots. There will be not enough police to stop people's protests by force." So Russia is introducing new laws instead. One makes "participating in mass disorders…a crime against the state," for which defendants will be tried by a special court of three judges.

This will fail. The depression is shaping up to be harsh, deep and prolonged, and its fallout cannot be batonned away. People are demonstrating for their lives. In times like these the desperate have a way of not disappearing. But who will emerge from this crisis stronger is still up for grabs. Take Britain. Police say they are bracing themselves for a "summer of rage"—white-collar riots against the economic crisis. Efforts by the far right to exploit the wildcat strikes with xenophobia seem to have failed. Nonetheless, economic insecurity is certainly laying some of the groundwork for the far-right British National Party to win its first seat in the European Parliament later this year. Meanwhile, the principal beneficiaries of the crisis have been the opposition Conservatives, who seem set to trounce Labour in the forthcoming election, which must be held by June next year.

The fact that the extreme right might hijack this crisis for its own ends is all the more reason for the left to be involved. But we need to be strategic in our demands and cautious in our choice of allies. As any Russian dog owner will tell you: just because people take to the streets together doesn't necessarily mean they are heading in the same direction. ■

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A GLOBAL GREEN DEAL

The United States can lead, and benefit from, an international campaign to curb emissions.

by MARK HERTSGAARD

If human civilization is to have a realistic chance of surviving global climate change, President Barack Obama and mobilized citizens will have to lead a virtual revolution in America's approach to the issue. Because the hour is so late and America's role so central, Obama must lead, and be pressed to lead, on three fronts at once. First, the United States must commit itself to serious reductions in its greenhouse gas emissions and begin achieving them without delay. This will restore US credibility on the issue, paving the way for step two: encouraging the rest of the world, especially China, to cut its emissions dramatically. The United States and China together account for 40 percent of global emissions, making them climate superpowers: if they do not cut emissions, it won't matter how much other nations reduce. Finally, Obama must urge the United States and all nations to begin preparing for the sea-level rise, water shortages and other impacts of climate change that are inevitable, with special emphasis on assisting the poor, who stand to suffer first and worst despite having done nothing to cause the problem.

It's a tall order, but America can achieve these triple imperatives if the Obama administration launches a Global Green Deal: a crash program to jump-start the transition to a global economy that is climate-friendly and climate-resilient—that is, an economy that emits relatively few greenhouse gases and is shielded against the impacts of climate change. Done properly, a deal of this sort will green not only our societies but our wallets. A massive program of green investment will reduce greenhouse gas emissions even as it stimulates jobs, profits and innovation worldwide and lifts millions of people out of poverty and economic distress.

The stimulus package is a good start. It contains $71 billion in direct green spending and $20 billion in green tax incentives, according to an analysis by the Center for American Progress. The World Resources Institute has calculated that every $1 billion in green spending generates approximately 30,000 jobs, so the green portions of the stimulus package should create about 2 million jobs, many in the construction sector, which has been hit especially hard. Retrofitting buildings, installing solar panels and constructing wind farms require skilled and semiskilled labor and create decent-paying jobs that cannot be outsourced. Investing in climate-friendly development in poor countries, where money buys more, should yield even more jobs and economic uplift—no small consideration, given the recent warning from the US director of national intelligence, retired Adm. Dennis Blair, that the economic downturn could become the gravest threat to international stability if it triggers a return to the "violent extremism" of the 1930s.

But even more will have to be done, at home and abroad, if we are to slash emissions quickly enough to preserve a livable planet. President Obama has promised to reduce US emissions to 1990 levels by 2020 and to 80 percent below 1990 levels by 2050. This sounds impressive compared with the Bush/Cheney years, but precisely because of Bush-era foot-dragging, the United States and the rest of the world need to achieve larger and faster emissions reductions than previously assumed. We have "a very short window of time," Rajendra Pachauri, chair of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, said in January at

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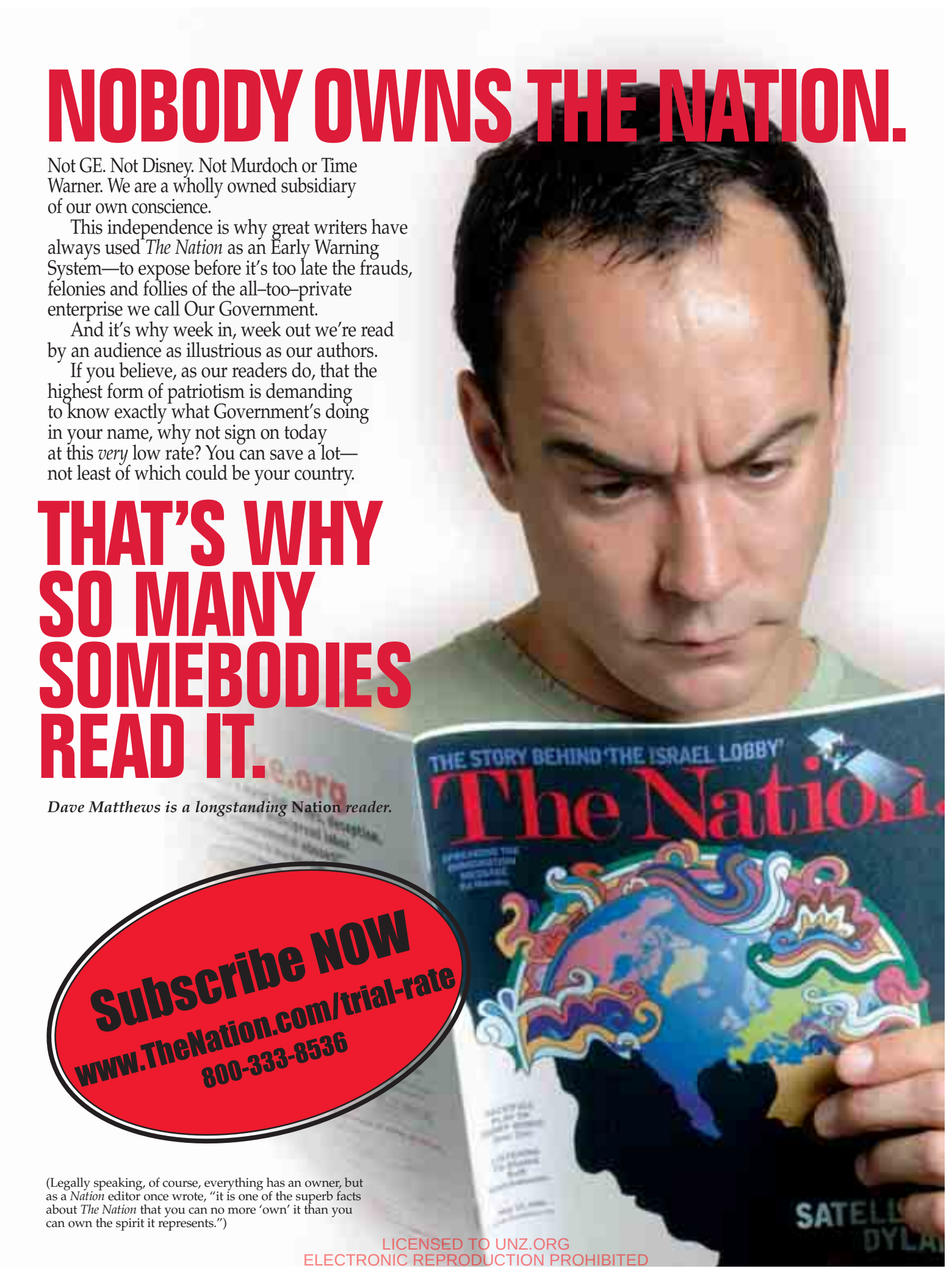

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a Worldwatch Institute conference. If we want to avoid such scenarios as twenty feet of sea-level rise, which would put most of the world's big cities under water, the rise in global temperatures must be limited to 2.0 to 2.4 Celsius above preindustrial levels. That means global emissions must peak by 2015 and then fall rapidly for decades, said Pachauri. In this context, he added, Obama's goal "falls short of the response needed by world leaders" in preparation for the negotiations in Copenhagen in December to produce a successor to the Kyoto treaty. Instead, Pachauri urged Obama to embrace the European Union's target: reducing emissions to 20 percent below 1990 levels by 2020, which the EU says it will achieve by increasing energy efficiency and renewable energy by 20 percent.

Privately, Obama may understand that his policies don't go far enough—his science advisers are excellent—but the forces of the status quo are too powerful for him to overcome without help. As the squabbling over the stimulus bill demonstrated, the same special interests that have blocked reform for years remain on patrol. Senate Republicans, even the supposed centrists whose compromise eventually passed, reportedly demanded and got the removal of $4 billion to build or modernize green schools. And Republicans aren't the only problem. Inside the Beltway, even some Obama allies are lowering expectations in the name of "political realism." I recently attended an off-the-record briefing by a climate change insider, a thirty-year Washington veteran, who stressed again and again—to a very green audience—how "complicated" and "difficult" it will be to get agreement on Obama's emissions targets. Forget that Obama had just won an undeniable electoral mandate and that Democrats control both houses of Congress. Republicans are opposed, so saving the planet is just too ambitious.

Under the circumstances, there is no substitute for fresh thinking and intense public pressure, both of which will be brought to bear in the run-up to Copenhagen. "I can't understand why there aren't rings of young people blocking bulldozers and preventing them from constructing coal-fired power plants," Al Gore said in 2007. On March 2, Gore will get his wish. James Hansen of NASA, America's foremost climate scientist, will join hundreds of activists, many of them college students with the Power Shift climate movement, in an act of civil disobedience outside the coal plant that powers the US Capitol. Hansen has argued that preventing catastrophic climate change requires an end to new coal plants; now he will get arrested to make that point. "If there are young people sticking their necks out, how can old geezers who caused their problem hang back?" Hansen told *The Nation*. Wendell Berry, Bill McKibben and Gus Speth are some of the other environmental luminaries who plan to get arrested in the action, which is being spearheaded by the Chesapeake Climate Action Network.

Mark Hertsgaard (markhertsgaard.com), a fellow of The Nation Institute and The Nation*'s environment correspondent, is the author of five books, which have been translated into sixteen languages. His next book*, Living Through the Storm: How We Survive the Next 50 Years of Climate Change, *is forthcoming from Houghton-Mifflin.*

I first proposed a Global Green Deal in 1998 in my book *Earth Odyssey* because six years of world travel had convinced me that fighting poverty had to go hand in hand with fighting climate change; you can't expect people to starve today to save tomorrow's planet. Relying on a mix of government policies and market mechanisms, the plan would use federal spending and regulation to encourage the rapid deployment of green technologies and practices here and abroad, especially in developing nations. A Global Green Deal follows in the tradition of the New Deal, which President Roosevelt devised to fight the Great Depression in the 1930s; the Marshall Plan, which restored stability in Europe in the '40s and '50s; and the Apollo Project, which put a man on the moon in the '60s and led to the personal computer revolution of the '80s. Like each of these forebears, a Global Green Deal would mobilize America's public and private resources with a wartime sense of urgency. Government would spend more, but it would spend more wisely, and its investments would stimulate enough economic activity that increased tax receipts would cover the costs. The deal would shift taxpayer support away from practices that make climate change worse—i.e., Washington's copious financing of oil and coal projects—and toward green counterparts. Policies that reduce emissions and strengthen climate resilience at the same time, such as the rejuvenation of degraded forests and soils, would be a top priority.

Like its forebears, a Global Green Deal would mobilize America's public and private resources with a wartime sense of urgency.

The core principles of the deal have been embraced by leaders and citizen groups around the world, such as the prime minister of Japan, the foreign minister of Germany, and labor and environmental groups in Britain and the United States, including the AFL-CIO. In December, UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon called for a very similar plan. In February Ban and Gore urged the world's governments to counter the economic crisis with spending that addresses immediate social needs and "launches a new green global economy." Noting that thirty-four nations are planning $2.25 trillion in stimulus spending, Ban and Gore warned that channeling this money "into carbon-based infrastructure and fossil-fuel subsidies would be like investing in subprime real estate all over again."

Most significant, President Obama has advocated policies that, at least domestically, align perfectly with those of a Global Green Deal. The stimulus package increases federal spending on green energy to three times the current level. But stabilizing our climate also requires that governments stop subsidizing activities that make things worse. Here, Obama still has far to go. The stimulus package contains $17 billion for mass transit but almost twice that much for new roads, according to Friends of the Earth. Senate-House conferees wisely deleted $50 billion in loan guarantees for nuclear power plants from the bill, but fossil fuels continue to receive nearly twice as much in federal subsidies as do renewables and energy efficiency. For

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example, the stimulus package devotes $4.6 billion to research carbon capture and storage (CCS), a technology that, if it can be made to work—a big if, in some experts' minds—would capture a coal plant's carbon dioxide emissions and store them underground, where they would not contribute to global warming. Without CCS, continuing to burn coal is incompatible with preventing catastrophic climate change, says Hansen. But since it will be many years before CCS can be deployed, the more urgent task is to stop building coal plants and start phasing out existing ones. That goal, which Obama has given no sign of endorsing, is possible only if green alternatives receive even greater government support.

Energy efficiency is the alternative of choice under the Global Green Deal because it is the quickest and most lucrative means of reducing CO_2 emissions and sparking economic development. Naysayers often complain that going green costs too much, especially in this time of economic crisis; but evidence suggests otherwise. Corporations and governments alike have found that investments in energy efficiency are extraordinarily profitable. Over a three-year period beginning in 1999, BP invested $20 million to increase energy efficiency throughout its global network of production facilities and offices. The company ended up saving $650 million in fuel costs—a stunning thirty-two-fold return on investment. "Six companies—IBM, DuPont, British Telecom, Alcan, NorskeCanada and Bayer—have each reduced emissions by at least 60 percent since the early 1990s, collectively saving more than $4 billion in the process," according to Michael Northrop of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

Instead of refusing to pay developing nations to go green, the US should make a virtue of necessity and help them go green at top speed.

Happily, the stimulus package contains $9.4 billion to upgrade the efficiency of government and military buildings. Under the Global Green Deal, the government would extend the same opportunity to businesses and households. Federal loans would underwrite the upgrades, and the resulting savings on energy bills would be used to pay taxpayers back with interest. The deal would also boost the efficiency of vehicles, appliances, and power and water use. For example, the rules governing electric utilities would be revised to reward them for selling less power. California did this in the 1970s. Since then, the state's electricity use has been flat, despite a growing population and economy, while the utilities have enjoyed solid profits.

Bringing other states up to California's efficiency levels would save as much electricity as is produced by 60 percent of the nation's coal-fired power plants, according to the Rocky Mountain Institute. To offset the remaining 40 percent, solar and wind power must continue their recent rapid expansion. Lester Brown, founder of the Earth Policy Institute, notes that Texas, of all places, "has 45 megawatts of wind power either on line or projected, which is about equal to 45 coal plants." That's more than Texas can consume, and it illustrates the importance of developing a national "smart grid" so that wind power produced in one region can be transported to customers elsewhere. The stimulus package invests $11 billion in this vital initiative.

Although the Obama administration is embarking on a scaled-down version of the Global Green Deal at home, similar policies must be applied internationally as well. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's 2007 report made it clear that rich nations cannot survive unless developing nations—particularly China, India, Brazil and other emerging economies whose emissions are rising rapidly—also cut emissions. As a moral and practical matter, the rich will have to help pay for this shift; otherwise it will not happen. Congressional Republicans will howl, but the facts are clear: rich countries released 80 percent of the greenhouse gases warming the atmosphere, and on a per capita basis they still emit much more than developing nations, where hundreds of millions of poor people need affordable energy. Most rich nations have long rejected the idea of paying the poor to go green. Now we have no choice. Instead of resisting, the United States should make a virtue of necessity by helping these countries go green at maximum speed. If we're smart, a Global Green Deal will open new markets for US exporters, just as the Marshall Plan did after World War II.

The deal also provides a framework that could break the most important impasse in climate change diplomacy: the longstanding mutual insistence by the United States and China that the other climate superpower act first to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. As the United States and the Soviet Union had with nuclear weapons during the cold war, the United States and China have loaded guns pointed at each other's heads, and at everyone else's. If both superpowers do not reduce emissions—if they do not lower and unload their guns—they will destroy themselves and the rest of civilization.

For years, Washington's intransigence has given China an easy excuse for refusing to reduce its emissions. Pursuing sharp emissions reductions, however, would give America leverage to press China to do its part. And there is reason to believe that China would welcome a climate deal, provided it is equitable. Its leaders at last appear to recognize that climate change is not only a rich man's problem. China is already being hurt by climate change—2007 brought the worst drought in ten years while record floods further undermined food production—and worse lies in store, including a sea-level rise that could flood Shanghai. What's more, Chinese experts have long recognized that energy efficiency is the most potent source of green energy available. Studies supervised in the 1990s by Zhou Dadi, a top government adviser, showed that China could use 40–50 percent less energy if it installed efficiency technologies. Under the Global Green Deal, the United States and China would work together to capture these savings—by promoting more efficient refrigerators, light bulbs and air conditioners, insulating China's notoriously drafty buildings and installing smarter electric motors and equipment.

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John Sutherland is the Lord Northcliffe Professor Emeritus of Modern English Literature at University College London and visiting professor of Literature at the California Institute of Technology (Caltech). He earned his B.A. and M.A. from Leicester University and his Ph.D. from Edinburgh University.

His numerous awards and honors include the Associated Student Body of Caltech Excellence in Teaching Award and Caltech's Sherman Fairchild Distinguished Scholar Award.

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Secretary of State Clinton's talks with top Chinese officials are cause for hope. Washington and Beijing pledged to work together toward energy efficiency and renewables and to achieve a "successful outcome" to the Copenhagen negotiations. A new report jointly produced by US and China experts and co-chaired by Steven Chu, a Chinese-American serving as Obama's energy secretary, urges regular "leaders summits" between China and the United States to pursue a climate deal. When Obama meets Chinese President Hu Jintao in April at the G-20 summit, he should invite Hu to join him for a series of talks to forge a path toward mutually assured reductions in emissions. (Such summits should augment, not displace, the UN negotiations that will culminate in Copenhagen.)

Can America make this green dream a reality? As candidate Obama famously said, Yes we can. But a Global Green Deal would amount to almost a revolution in how Washington works. It requires fundamental changes in where government money goes, including taking billions of dollars away from some of the most powerful lobbies and corporations in the country, above all the oil and coal industries. Obama promised to change how politics is done in Washington, but does he have the stomach for this? We'll see.

In any case, such change will come about only if President Obama and others in government are pushed from below—by intense and sustained public pressure. As Obama explained to an audience in January 2008, when few gave him much of a chance to be president, "Change does not happen from the top down. It happens from the bottom up.… [People] arguing, mobilizing, agitating and ultimately forcing elected officials to be accountable.… That's how we're going to bring about change." ■

Surfers vs. the Superferry

It's big. It's tall. It's fast. According to Hawaiian activists, it's an environmental nightmare.

by JERRY MANDER AND KOOHAN PAIK

We don't ordinarily seek inspirational models of grassroots uprisings—especially against global corporate-military boondoggles—from surfer beaches on luscious tropical islands. So it surprises colleagues on the left when we tell them they might check out some surprising events on the small "outer" islands in Hawaii that may have an impact on grand US aspirations for military domination of the Pacific basin. Few mainlanders have heard about it, but Hawaii is up in arms.

It all started in 2001 as a purportedly modest "local" effort to offer inter-island ferry service to "help local people more easily visit their relatives on other islands, and carry their farm produce to market." Most locals liked the idea but soon found that this ferry, the gigantic Hawaii Superferry, was an environmental nightmare. It uses far more fuel (in total and per person) than big planes. It races at high speed (40–45 miles per hour) through zones teeming with endangered humpback whales, dolphins and rare sea turtles. It could transport dangerous invasive species to pristine islands. And it carries hundreds of cars to tiny places already choking on traffic.

Environmentalists demanded an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) as required by the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) and its Hawaii equivalent (HEPA). But the Hawaii Superferry Company, with strong support from Governor Linda Lingle, the ambitious right-wing Republican lately famous for introducing Sarah Palin at the Republican convention, refused.

By 2004 the lead investor (nearly $90 million) and new chair of the board for this "local" ferry project was New York City military financier John Lehman, Ronald Reagan's secretary of the Navy, a leading neocon with a famously aggressive military vision. (The *Washington Post* quoted him in 1984 as advocating first-strike nuclear strategies.) Lehman is a member of the Project for the New American Century and a 9/11 commissioner, but his great passion has been pushing for a vastly expanded, 600-ship Navy and a stronger US military presence in the Pacific to assuage mounting concerns about China as a future military superpower. After his company, J.F. Lehman, took over the Superferry project, Lehman appointed a new board with a majority of former top military brass. He later hired Adm.

MARCO GARCIA/AP

A surfer catches a wave at Kakaako Waterfront Park as the Hawaii Superferry approaches.

Jerry Mander, director of the International Forum on Globalization, and Hawaii filmmaker Koohan Paik are the authors of The Superferry Chronicles: Hawaii's Uprising Against Militarism, Commercialism and the Desecration of the Earth *(Koa).*

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Thomas Fargo as CEO. Only four years ago Fargo was the commander of US military operations in the Pacific, answering directly to George W. Bush and Donald Rumsfeld. So the question is this: why on earth would anyone need a board that qualifies as a mini-Pentagon to run a friendly transport for families and papayas between islands?

A key moment in this saga came in August 2007, on the small island of Kauai, called the Garden Island by tourist agencies for its folded green cliffs, cascading waterfalls and *aloha* spirit. But on this occasion about 1,500 locals—including a high percentage of Native Hawaiians, joined by people of Japanese and Filipino descent and a contingent of New Age *haoles* (recent white settlers seeking Shangri-La)—showed up at Nawiliwili Harbor to protest the Superferry's maiden voyage from Honolulu to Kauai. Several dozen surfers also played a catalytic role.

When the protesters saw the oncoming speeding colossus on the horizon—bigger than a football field, four stories high and capable of carrying as many as 866 people and 282 cars—the outrage grew. The anger had been magnified a few days earlier when Governor Lingle and Lehman's Superferry company indicated they would disregard a 5–0 Hawaii Supreme Court ruling demanding the boat suspend operations until it completed an EIS. As it approached, dozens of surfers and swimmers leaped into the water. Ignoring strident Coast Guard threats, they headed out under the Superferry's terrifying catamaran blades, stopping the ship dead in the water. It created a sort of Tiananmen Square standoff in the waters of Kauai.

It was a dangerous business, but next day when the Superferry returned, the crowd of protesters had grown, and the surfers and beach brigades had too. In the ensuing eighteen months, the boat has never returned to Kauai and now has only one daily run, from Honolulu to Maui. The "spirit of Nawiliwili" has become the stuff of legend in Hawaii.

On the island of Maui, similar outrage led to a series of large if less spectacular protests. But the Maui resistance settled on legal actions from groups like the Sierra Club, Maui Tomorrow and the Kahului Harbor Coalition. It was these groups that had won the unanimous Hawaii Supreme Court ruling demanding the EIS. Everyone thought that decision would settle matters. Instead, it stimulated Lingle to demonstrate her Machiavellian chops by coercing the State Legislature (many of whose members had received Superferry largesse, as had Lingle) to pass a law theoretically circumventing the court ruling and permitting the boat to operate. It was an in-your-face move worthy of Bush/Cheney at their peak. Lingle's new law, Act Two, invented an EIS process with few features from NEPA or HEPA. The new law, for example, has no power to stop the Superferry from operating, no matter what the environmental findings. It's a fake EIS.

The Maui groups have gone back to court to charge that Act Two is unconstitutional—violating separation of powers and directly favoring a single company, among other problems. The final decision is expected any day.

Three weeks after Nawiliwili, another huge throng filled the 1,500 seats of Kauai's War Memorial Convention Hall, with many more outside, for a "public meeting" called by Governor Lingle. Imperiously she warned that she would not discuss whether there would be a Superferry—that had been decided. Her purpose was to instruct people that if they repeated their protests, they would be charged under new anti-terrorism laws that carry prison terms up to five years and/or a $10,000 fine.

Her statements were met with hoots and laughter and then a series of eloquent testimonies about protection of sacred lands (*aina* in Hawaiian) and sea creatures and the rights of local communities to protect themselves from invasive species and invasive corporations with militaristic intentions. Many indicated they were not opposed to a ferry if it would operate within community and environmental standards rather than those of an absentee owner with profit motives and military intentions. Others denounced Lingle's embrace of the project and its owner, suggesting she'd abandoned Hawaii for personal ambition.

In September the Superferry's manufacturer, Austal USA, was awarded a $1.6 billion contract to build ten high-speed Navy catamarans.

Lingle's goals surely go beyond providing a useful local ferry. They certainly seemed to have far more to do with getting closer to powerful Republican Party figures—notably Lehman, slated, as the *New York Times* reported, to have been John McCain's chief of staff, had he won.

Throughout all this, the governor and the Superferry company denied the ferry's long-range military implications, despite earlier statements by Lehman and other executives about transporting Stryker tanks and other military services along with similar statements from the US Maritime Administration, which had issued a loan guarantee. *Pacific Business News* reported in March 2005 that Timothy Dick, Hawaii Superferry's original chair, confirmed that "Hawaii Superferry provided the Army with a cost analysis and expects to negotiate a long-term contract." The article also noted that "with Lehman's expertise, the Superferry plans to…carry military equipment and ferry vehicles from Oahu to the Big Island on a daily basis" and quoted Lehman saying that "the Superferry is strong enough to take Stryker vehicles."

Then in November the Superferry's manufacturer, Austal USA of Mobile, Alabama, was awarded a $1.6 billion Pentagon contract to build ten high-speed catamarans under the Navy's Joint High Speed Vessel (JHSV) program in preparation for possible future conflicts with China. The model that Austal submitted for that contract competition was almost identical to the Hawaii Superferry's large-scale, aluminum-hulled high-speed catamaran design, except for military fittings and accommodations. The fact that the Superferry was already in the water, proving its seaworthiness while the JHSV contract was being considered, suggests that it may have always been intended as a prototype or demo model for the larger deal. It also explains the consistent refusals to do an EIS, which

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might have delayed getting the boat operational and visible.

Two years earlier, Lehman had also purchased a shipyard, Atlantic Marine, adjacent to Austal in Mobile. It's not yet clear if Lehman's company, or Superferry, stands to gain from the Austal award, possibly by subcontracting aspects of that huge construction project, but speculation in Hawaii runs wild.

All parties await the next ruling from the Hawaii Supreme Court on the Maui appeal. A new diverse grassroots community of activists on Kauai is warily assessing whether it will again need to respond. Will the company try to send the boat back to Kauai? Or will the Superferry quit Hawaii altogether as too much trouble, selling the boat for military uses, or to someplace with no activist surfers? As for Lingle's future, it's not bright. While touring with Palin during the presidential campaign, Lingle was quoted saying that Barack Obama's "claim" to be from Hawaii is "disingenuous." That enraged the Hawaiian public more than the Superferry. She may no longer be politically viable. ■

Tibetan Exiles: 'We Shall Overcome'

Activists take inspiration from Rosa Parks, Gandhi and the Ruckus Society.

by AMY YEE

Dharamsala, India

When Everett Gendler, an 80-year-old rabbi from New England, asks the class of Tibetans to describe what the word "power" means to them, the students hesitate at first. But as they go around the circle, they warm to the task and come up with some telling responses. Power means "something frightening," says one young woman in soft English. Power means "bad or evil"; it means "violence" and "someone who monitors things," some other students offer.

These Tibetans, in their late teens and 20s, are recent refugees who fled their homeland to this city in neighboring India, home to some 140,000 Tibetan exiles. Some of the young men sport trendy haircuts—spiky, tinted red or slacker shaggy—that must be fashionable back home. They hail from Tibet's cities as well as from farming and nomad families.

Although it is their winter holiday, about sixty Tibetan students are attending this two-week workshop on "active nonviolence," led by Rabbi Gendler, his wife, Mary (a psychologist), and staff from the Active Non-Violence Education Center (ANEC) in Dharamsala, the northern Indian hill town that has been home to the Dalai Lama for nearly fifty years.

Over the next few days ANEC will lead a workshop based on the teachings of Gene Sharp, who outlined 198 methods of nonviolent action in his 1973 book, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*. What are two Americans doing teaching peaceful resistance to Tibetan Buddhists, of all people? Rabbi Gendler, who has long white hair and a resonant voice, admits Tibetans already know about nonviolence. But ANEC provides something more. "We're teaching them *how* to do it," says Gendler, who founded ANEC with his wife in 2007 after retiring as Jewish chaplain at Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts.

On the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the Dalai Lama's exile in March, freedom for Tibet remains elusive. The Chinese government has tightened a clampdown in Tibet that began last March after pro-Tibet demonstrations erupted across the country. About 120 Tibetans and several Chinese were killed last year in the worst violence in China since Tiananmen Square in 1989. The most dramatic headlines have subsided, but arrest and sentencing of Tibetans quietly picked up after the Olympics, says the Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy in Dharamsala. In anticipation of this year's fiftieth-anniversary milestone, China launched a "Strike Hard" campaign in January; it has led to a sharp rise in arrests, raids and interrogations as authorities tighten control in Tibet.

REUTERS

A Tibetan exile in Dharamsala, India, protests the Beijing Olympic Games this past August. The poster says, RELEASE POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Despite the deadlock in talks between the Dalai Lama's envoys and their Chinese counterparts, pro-Tibet momentum outside China has increased. In recent years, activist groups have become more organized, media savvy and technologically sophisticated, allowing them to harness broader support

Amy Yee is a correspondent for the Financial Times *based in New Delhi. Her work has also appeared in the* Christian Science Monitor, *the* Wall Street Journal Asia *and* The Boston Globe Magazine.

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among Tibetan exiles as well as international sympathizers. Mohandas Gandhi famously said, "I have nothing new to teach the world. Truth and nonviolence are as old as the hills." But for the pro-Tibet movement, better nonviolence training and education have been critical to stepping up the campaign in the hills of Dharamsala and far beyond.

Lhadon Tethong, executive director of Students for a Free Tibet, a New York–based nonprofit, points out that Rosa Parks did not spontaneously refuse to give up her seat on that bus in Alabama in 1955. "She was trained. She had attended training institutes and learned some brilliant strategies and methodology," says Tethong from New York. "The lesson for me is that just because we have this strong Buddhist culture…doesn't mean we just know how to wage a battle against a powerful force."

Yet if you walk through the winding streets of this town in the foothills of the Himalayas, you will see peaceful resistance on full display. Walls are plastered with fliers advertising pro-Tibet candlelight vigils, discussions and films. Young Tibetans casually sport T-shirts with slogans declaring Justice Has Been Raped in Tibet. Stooped elderly women wear trendy zip-up sweatshirts with Team Tibet 08 stenciled on the back, as do foreign backpackers.

Activist groups have become more organized, media savvy and technologically sophisticated, allowing them to harness broader support.

In the week before Losar, the Tibetan new year (which began February 25 this year), the streets of Dharamsala were covered with black posters declaring No Losar Celebrations, to Express Our Solidarity With Tibetan Martyrs. This year there will be no concerts, dance performances, fireworks or guzzling of *chang* (Tibetan barley beer). Instead, Losar will be marked by marches, solemn prayers and a hunger strike. Tibetan exiles are following the lead of compatriots inside Tibet who refuse to celebrate Losar even though Chinese officials offered money to encourage festivities, according to blogs in Chinese within Tibet. The boycott comes even though China has declared March 28 "Serf Emancipation Day"—a new holiday celebrating the abolition of the Tibetan government in 1959.

It is easy to take the show of resistance in Dharamsala for granted, but such coordinated action is relatively new. At the ANEC office, decorated with portraits of the Dalai Lama, executive director Tenpa Samkhar says Tibetans know that "Buddha advocated nonviolence for all sentient beings." But peacefulness can also lead to passivity. Praying alone won't cut it. Samkhar, a former official in the Tibetan exile government who has a bowl haircut and large glasses, laughs at the idea of "waiting for karma after thousands of years" and letting your enemies be the victor. "You can't wait for things. You have to do something. You can't just wait patiently!"

Students for a Free Tibet (SFT) is channeling that impatience. It helped train Tibetans in how to stage nonviolent protests last year in the months before the Beijing Olympics. In a video of last year's training, a Tibetan activist warns participants—including red-robed monks—that the "Indian police will use rude language to make us angry.… We will win the police over through our peaceful approach." Another activist shows Tibetans how to wrap their legs around each other to form a sitting human chain that will be hard for police to break up. "Cross your legs like this and hold the legs of the person behind you," he demonstrates while tugging at a participant's ankles.

Tenzin Choeying, the 30-year-old national director of SFT in India, has been arrested several times for participating in peaceful protests. Choeying, sporting a goatee and a black jacket, sits on a sofa in SFT's office in Dharamsala beneath a whiteboard listing documentaries about Tibet that are for sale on DVD. He describes how far pro-Tibet activism has come since his days at Delhi University, when just a handful of Tibetans would show up to protest visits by Chinese leaders. In 2007 a rally in Delhi organized by the Tibetan Youth Congress drew an estimated 25,000 Tibetans from across India.

Last year the five major Tibetan NGOs in Dharamsala came together for the first time when they organized a four-month March to Tibet, from Dharamsala to the Tibet border—a trek of 745 miles. Before the march, participants debated whether they needed training. "The elder Tibetans said, 'We don't need it. It's inherent.' The younger Tibetans knew training was essential," says Choeying.

The message of the march was amplified through e-mail and text-message alerts, a website, blog and live satellite video of the march. Media training helped with holding press conferences and writing news releases. The Internet is essential for getting information to those within Tibet, where savvy computer users still manage to get around government blocks.

SFT has matured with help from Greenpeace and the Ruckus Society, the group that helped shut down the 1999 World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle. SFT created its own ruckus in 2007 when activists boldly unfurled a Free Tibet flag at Everest Base Camp in Tibet and broadcast the proceedings live on the Internet via satellite streaming video.

Tibetan activists are also well aware of Gandhi's legacy in their refuge home of Dharamsala. Gandhi's photo often hangs alongside that of the Dalai Lama in Tibetan offices. Swaraj Peeth, a Gandhian NGO in Delhi, has co-led training camps for SFT on Gandhian thought and philosophy. Legacies of the world's nonviolent resistances overlap in India. Martin Luther King Jr. studied Gandhi's legacy in India and brought lessons back to the United States. In late February Martin Luther King III finished a tour of India that retraced his father's pilgrimage here fifty years ago to learn about Gandhi's use of *satyagraha*, or "truth-force," to win independence for India. In another nod to history, the Tibetan Youth Congress sings "We Shall Overcome" after its meetings.

Last year's March to Tibet was stopped by Indian police at the Tibet border, within sight of the snowcapped Himalayas, and its leaders were jailed. At 54, Bumo Tsering, president of the

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Tibetan Women's Association, was one of the oldest participants in the march. Tsering, a bespectacled former biology teacher, was especially moved that many of the organizers were her former students from the Tibetan school in Dharamsala. Out of forty leaders, thirty were alumni from the school. "More young people are joining working committees" of pro-Tibet NGOs, says Tsering. "Young people still hold on to their identities strongly."

As marchers straggled over hilly roads last year, carrying posters of the Dalai Lama and Gandhi, they met blockades of khaki-clad Indian police.

"We don't mean to disrespect you," said a monk to an Indian police officer as he sat with a mass of Tibetans in the middle of a mountain road. The monk clasped his hands beseechingly, and tears welled up in his eyes. "We are going back to Tibet to struggle for our freedom." ■

Opening the Files on Bush's Secrets

Anti-secrecy groups have been making their own little sunshine lists.

by JON WIENER

"For a long time there's been too much secrecy in this city," President Obama said on his first day in office as he announced new policies favoring openness in government. Ever since, reporters and others in the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) business have been talking about their priorities for release of documents they have been seeking, in some cases for years. One group is compiling a list of the Ten Most Wanted Government Documents, and there are lots of suggestions.

PETER O. ZIERLEIN

"More important than anything, I want Treasury to tell us what they did with the bailout money," says Lucy Dalglish, executive director of the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press (rcfp.org/foia). Bloomberg News filed a FOIA suit on November 7 seeking information from the Federal Reserve about the recipients of the $700 billion Troubled Assets Relief Program rushed into law last fall and about the "troubled assets" the government accepted as collateral. The request was denied on December 8, six weeks before Obama took office, according to Bloomberg's Mark Pittman, on the grounds that the 231 pages of documents should be withheld because they are internal memos and also contain information about trade secrets. That decision should be reversed by Treasury Secretary Timothy Geithner's team, says Dalglish.

Others have different priorities. For Jameel Jaffer, director of the ACLU's National Security Project, number one is the secret memos from the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel (OLC), which permitted torture and warrantless surveillance of Americans in the name of national security. The ACLU had filed three FOIA lawsuits seeking to compel the Bush administration to release dozens of legal memos related to rendition, abusive interrogation and detention and other abuses of civil liberties. On February 17 the government and the ACLU agreed to a thirty-day extension of the date for a hearing on an ACLU request that the Obama administration end the litigation and release the records.

Steven Aftergood, director of the Project on Government Secrecy of the Federation of American Scientists, has the same priority: "These are documents of profound, sometimes decisive policy significance that have often been withheld even from Congress," he said. These documents are "immediately eligible for the kind of discretionary release that the Obama memoranda advocated."

The investigative journalism project ProPublica has set up propublica.org/special/missing-memos, which lists and describes the OLC memos that are still secret.

White House e-mail is first on Thomas Blanton's list—he is director of the National Security Archive at George Washington University (gwu.edu/~nsarchiv), the major repository of national security documents released over the years under the FOIA. The archive has been litigating over White House e-mail since 2007. In a court hearing on the missing e-mails, White House attorneys admitted "finding" 14 million e-mails that had been reported destroyed. This is another area where Obama could simply stop defending the Bush administration lawsuit and instruct the National Archives to organize and release the e-mails. But on February 20 the Justice Department refused to do that and continued to defend the Bush position in court.

Secret Service logs of visitors to the White House are at the top of Anne Weismann's list. Weismann is chief counsel of Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington (citizensforethics.org). CREW won a FOIA lawsuit on January 9, when US District Judge Royce Lamberth, in Washington, DC, rejected the Bush administration argument that the public has no right to know the names of people who visited the White House, no matter what the purpose. The Secret Service had refused to process CREW's FOIA request on orders from Vice President Cheney, who was trying to keep secret the names of fundamentalist Christian leaders who visited

Jon Wiener, a Nation *contributing editor, teaches American history at the University of California, Irvine. His most recent book is* Historians in Trouble.

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him. The Bush White House had announced that it was appealing the decision, but the Obama administration could simply drop the appeal and release the records.

FEMA's Hurricane Katrina records are first on Rick Blum's list. Blum is coordinator of the Sunshine in Government Initiative, a coalition of media groups ranging from the Associated Press to the National Association of Broadcasters. He points to the FOIA request filed in 2005 by Mark Schleifstein of the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, which won two Pulitzer Prizes, for public service and news reporting, in 2006 for Katrina coverage. Schleifstein had requested documents generated by FEMA's rapid needs assessment teams, which determine the needs of stricken communities for food, water, housing and medical assistance. "I sought to better understand the causes of FEMA's historically botched delivery of disaster recovery aid," he wrote. But the only response he has received is an annual apology from FEMA accompanied by an inquiry about whether he still wants the records. "I replied 'YES,'" he wrote in the *Times-Picayune* at the end of January.

Other contenders for spots on the most-wanted list of secret documents include Justice Department records on the politically motivated firings of US Attorneys; an official list of detainees at Guantánamo; EPA data on toxins in drinking water and the environment; Nuclear Regulatory Commission information on nuclear site safety, taken off the web by the Bush administration after 9/11; the transcript of the interview Dick Cheney gave the FBI as part of its investigation of the leak of CIA officer Valerie Plame's name to the media; and, of course, information about the secretive Cheney energy task force, which has been litigated over a great deal during the past seven years.

Every one of these items includes an imperative for Obama going forward: FEMA should release not just records about Katrina but about its current disaster preparations and policies; the Justice Department should reveal not only its past misdeeds but also its present activities and policies; the Obama White House needs to archive not only Bush-era e-mails but its own as well.

The survey to identify the Ten Most Wanted Government Documents (showusthedata.org) is run by OpenTheGovernment.org. The group's director, Patrice McDermott, says the results will be released in mid-March during Sunshine Week (sunshineweek.org), an annual event sponsored by the American Society of Newspaper Editors that highlights the public's right to know what its government is doing. By that time, many of the most coveted documents may already have been released. After all, Obama said on his first day in office that "starting today, every agency and department should know that this administration stands on the side not of those who seek to withhold information but those who seek to make it known." ■

Exchange

(continued from page 2)

of our nation's programs and policies.

Why is a diverse coalition supporting this growing movement? Because there is an increasing consensus that our policy of ignoring our fiscal realities by spending the Social Security surplus, ignoring out-of-control healthcare costs, running operating deficits and relying increasingly on foreign lenders serves to threaten our collective future. In my view, our country is deeply fortunate that Pete Peterson is willing to dedicate a significant portion of his net worth to help keep America strong and the American Dream alive for future generations.

David Walker, *president and CEO*
Peter G. Peterson Foundation

Ann Arbor, Mich.

Thanks for exposing the (most current) attempt to undercut Social Security. William Greider is one of today's all-too-rare exemplars of genuine noblesse oblige in action—a true national treasure. With most in the know bought off, the indefatigable and undauntable Greider fights on. Thanks for giving him, thus us, the space his work deserves. In Greider's honor, I sent off the following advice to the Peterson-captured David Walker:

"The Peterson shell game has been outed. Get out of there while you can—that is, while you still have the reputation you earned working in the daylight. I know it sounded nice. But so did 'derivatives.' Both depended on no one really understanding what was going on. Now we do."

Lawrence Kelly

New York City

As a founding member of the National Academy of Social Insurance (nasi.org), I want to express my deep appreciation for William Greider's article on the threats that a "bipartisan entitlement commission" poses to the future of Social Security. His assessment is correct. Thank you for drawing attention to this issue, as the Obama administration's forthcoming "fiscal summit" runs a real risk of falling into the trap set by longtime foes of social insurance in general and Social Security and Medicare in particular.

William J. Arnone

Greider Replies

Washington, D.C.

David Walker is offended, but if you read his letter closely he more or less confirms what I wrote about the establishment's assault on Social Security and other entitlement programs. I said they want to loot Social Security. He says it's already been looted. I said they are trying to evade the regular processes of representative democracy. He says Congress is "broken" and so cannot be trusted to make sound decisions in a timely manner. Do they want to whack benefits for Social Security recipients, as I claimed, or don't they? Walker declines to answer the question. Readers can decide for themselves whom to believe.

William Greider

Correction: Those Pesky Decimals

There were three computation errors in Christopher Hayes's March 2 "Cut the Military Budget." The Pentagon budget request represents a 13 (not 12) percent increase over last year's budget. The reported Obama Defense Department appropriation would represent a 2.2 percent increase over last year's budget (not 8 percent). And regarding the F-22 Raptor fighter jet, $3.4 billion divided by 95,000 works out to $35,800 per job (not $35.8 million). So it is not true that "more jobs would be created by hiring people to shred the money." We deeply regret the errors and have FedExed a new abacus to our Washington bureau.

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Books & the Arts.

Lab Test

by WILLIAM DERESIEWICZ

AP

An engineer inspects a model of the Telstar communications satellite at a Bell Telephone Laboratories plant, February 1962.

The most striking thing about the way we talk about science these days is just how little we talk about it at all. No large fundamental question focuses our attention on the adventure of discovery; no grand public project stirs our reflection on the perils of technological control. Nothing for decades has approached the imaginative impact of relativity or the double helix, the moon landing or the bomb. Even genetic research, which generates so much attention in the media, is understood more as a medical issue—news you can use—than an issue of science as such. And if we talk about science very little, we talk about the scientist even less. The old stereotypes, once so evocative—the genius, the benefactor, the madman—have lost their potency. No Einstein or Pasteur anymore, no Frankenstein or Strangelove. Scientific research has become so highly collaborative, so much a group endeavor, that the investigators have been eclipsed by the explainers—the Sagans and Pinkers and Gladwells. Science has become so pervasive a part of the way things run that, like the servants in a Victorian household, the people who actually make it happen have disappeared into the wallpaper.

Steven Shapin's new book makes those people visible again, gives them a history and clears away the preconceptions with which the larger culture has surrounded them. Shapin's earlier studies—*Leviathan and the Air-Pump*, *A Social History of Truth* and *The Scientific Revolution*—concentrated on the early years of modern science, the age of Galileo and Newton. Now he turns his attention to the past two centuries, bringing his story all the way to the present—or even, since scientists are understood to be the people, as he says, who create the future, a little further. Combining historical scholarship with sociological research, Shapin reveals the often sharp discrepancies between cultural assumptions about the scientific life and the attitudes of scientists themselves. Ideals such as creativity, integrity and autonomy are put to the test of actual experience.

William Deresiewicz is a Nation *contributing writer.*

The Scientific Life
A Moral History of a Late Modern Vocation.
By Steven Shapin.
Chicago. 468 pp. $29.

But though the book's historical sections are consistently interesting, it seems to this lay reader that Shapin's approach to contemporary institutional structures avoids most of the important questions about the ways scientists go about their business today and the effect these arrangements have on the kind of science—and therefore the kind of future—that we end up getting.

Shapin's narrative begins with the shift from science as calling to science as job. The figures of the Scientific Revolution—men like Newton and Boyle—were seen as rare spirits working in austere solitude to unlock the secrets of God's creation. With little institutional support or financial reward, these natural philosophers, as they were called, devoted themselves to the discovery of divine Truth with a monastic disregard for material advantage. But two broad developments brought an end to this ideal. The Industrial Revolution gave science an instrumental purpose, and the secularization of consciousness deprived the natural world of its sacred aura. Science became caught up in the business of producing profit and enhancing state power, purposes mundane rather than transcendental. And

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scientific inquiry, whatever ends it might be put to, could no longer be seen as a form of metaphysical discovery. The one ultimate Truth became many empirical truths. Though the notion of the scientist as a kind of oracle of nature lingered on until well into the next century—Einstein, revered as both genius and sage, is exemplary—the idea of science as a higher calling had lost its philosophical underpinnings. What had been a vocation was on its way to becoming a mere occupation.

Does the profit motive distort and degrade the unpredictable path of scientific discovery?

Through the early decades of the twentieth century, the old notions came under still greater pressure. The allegiance to knowledge for the sake of knowledge and consequent elevation of "pure" over applied research, the principled disdain for self-enrichment and corollary belief in the scientist's moral superiority, the commitment to investigative autonomy and free exploration as essential to the scientific project—all these were challenged by the explosive growth of industrial science. Westinghouse, Kodak and many other American corporations, seeking to emulate the success of German firms like Bayer, Siemens and I.G. Farben, established sophisticated and highly organized research centers. By 1940, as many as 3,500 industrial laboratories were in operation. Between 1920 and 1952, the share of national income devoted to corporate research multiplied more than twenty-fold. By 1958, Bell Labs alone employed more than 3,000 scientists. Such numbers swamped what the nonprofit sector could muster. By midcentury, the typical scientist was no longer an independent investigator toiling in splendid isolation or an unworldly academic ensconced in an upper floor of the ivory tower but an increasingly well-paid company man working project to project on tasks selected by superiors with the goal of enhancing the bottom line.

There are revealing analogies here with the twentieth-century fate of two other groups: artists and scholars. Like scientists, both once laid claim to inherit the priestly functions and distinctions: asceticism, moral superiority, access to higher truth. Both saw their endeavors as ends in themselves, above the vulgar scrum of the marketplace. Both imagined themselves as constituting a select fellowship or caste. And over the course of the past century, both gradually surrendered these claims for the sake of social normalcy and material security. As their ranks multiplied, funding increased and organizational structures elaborated themselves, their distinct modes of being were increasingly subjected to institutional supervision and homogenization. Now we have the Iowa Writers' Workshop and the MLA job process, turning out our modern-day seminarians. All three groups, in short, became professionalized. In describing the descent of science from calling to occupation, Shapin overlooks this useful, and crucial, term of analysis. A profession is neither a vocation nor a job but a typically uneasy modern compromise (like the middle class, or the novel) between these spiritual poles.

By the middle of the twentieth century, something else had occurred, an event that radically altered the way that science was conducted and the scientist regarded: the Manhattan Project. Its ramifications were bureaucratic, political and ethical as well as military. The creation of the atom bomb demonstrated that science could be organized—and organized by the government—on a hitherto unimagined scale. It also showed that science could be used as an instrument of state power exponentially more potent than previously recognized. And, of course, it raised the direst possible questions about the scientist's moral constitution and moral responsibility. The sorcerer had become the sorcerer's apprentice.

All of these issues grew more urgent as the cold war set in. The government needed scientists, but in the McCarthy era, it also distrusted their necessarily internationalist outlook (and, in many cases, their cosmopolitan origin), a tension put on public display in the fall of J. Robert Oppenheimer because of his supposed Communist sympathies. But Washington also wanted more than just the geniuses. The National Institute of Health was reorganized, and pluralized, in 1948 (it now comprises some twenty-seven institutes and centers). The National Science Foundation was established in 1950. NASA and DARPA were founded in 1958. Such was the scale of the new national project that the country needed everybody it could get. *Time* and *Life*, the Rockefeller Foundation and Margaret Mead were recruited to the task of convincing a generation of young people that the scientist needn't be exceptionally gifted (the merely average were welcome), socially peculiar (scientists were regular folks) or above material rewards (science could be a path to middle-class comfort). Sputnik only quickened the anxieties that drove these transformations. The era of Big Science, and ordinary scientists, had arrived.

In the 1970s, a new external threat and new forms of technology began to usher in a still different set of institutional arrangements and fresh conception of the scientist's character and social role. The anxiety now came not from Soviet missiles but Japanese engineers. Big Science had become too big, too slow. Corporate and federal bureaucratic dinosaurs had to be supplanted, or at least supplemented, by a nimbler species. Academia, where most cutting-edge research was done, was seen as the likeliest reservoir of potential talent. Industry started funding university science; Washington started funding applied research. Schools, seeing the potential for large new revenue streams, set up offices to oversee the marketing of intellectual property; professors entered into private partnerships to develop their discoveries or left academia altogether to found start-ups. These initiatives were instrumental in opening the two vast and lucrative fields that have dominated technological development over the past three decades: IT and biotech. The corporatization of the American university had begun. By 2001, the dean of engineering at the University of California, San Diego, Shapin's longtime institutional home (he is now at Harvard), could claim that academia had added a third to its two core missions. The goals of the modern university, he said, were teaching, research and technology transfer. The school's president went one better, overturning the old conceptions altogether. "As scholars," he announced, "we should not seek knowledge for its own sake." Einstein had given way to Bill Gates. The new hero of science was, and still is, the technological entrepreneur.

Loud choruses of protest greeted all of these developments. In "Science as a Vocation" (1918), Max Weber suggests that the scientist's immense moral authority would be lost if the pursuit of knowledge were diverted to utilitarian ends. In Sinclair Lewis's *Arrowsmith* (1925), a novel that inspired generations of American scientists, the eponymous protagonist struggles to choose between his passion for pure research and the more tangible rewards of a medical career, finally

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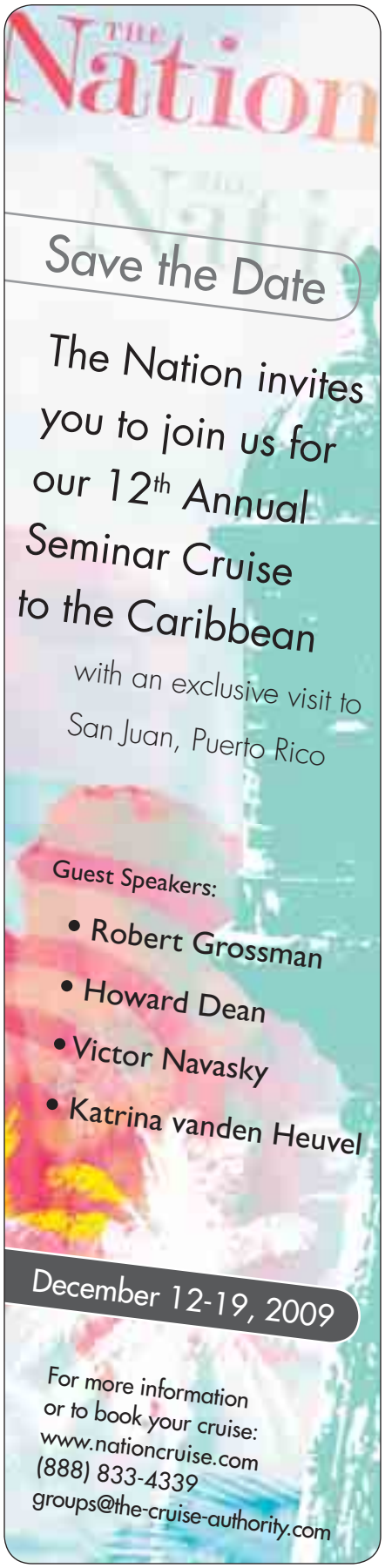
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following the loftier, lonelier path. After the war, William Whyte's *The Organization Man* (1956) was only the most visible of many works warning that bureaucratic hierarchy and conformity would smother the independent creative spirit necessary for true innovation. The concerns were practical as well as moral. By trying to organize an inherently unpredictable and individualistic pursuit, Big Science, it was felt, would "kill the goose that lays the golden egg." And in its desire to maintain the secrecy of proprietary information, corporate culture would stifle the openness essential to the diffusion and advancement of knowledge. More recent commentators have worried about the infection of academia by the profit motive. Would academic scientists, seduced by outside opportunities, neglect their duty to train the next generation of researchers—or even worse, put their graduate students to work on private commercial projects? Would universities shift resources away from less potentially lucrative fields of study and areas of research, whatever their intrinsic intellectual value?

To the criticisms of outside observers—social commentators and social scientists—Shapin opposes the testimonies of scientists. Drawing on trade journals and other materials for the postwar period and on his own interviews with academic and corporate scientists for the period of the high-tech boom, Shapin debunks assumptions about the effects of industrial organization on the mores and morale of research workers. Contrary to popular belief, industrial labs give scientists time to pursue their own projects, encourage publication in academic journals and recognize the need to allow researchers room to think. (A Kodak scientist once described his job to me by saying, "They ask me a question, and I go away and work on it for six months.") Shapin repeatedly quotes laboratory managers to the effect that the one thing research directors must never try to do is direct research. Their real job is to shield the lab from the pressures emanating from corporate management, especially from a shortsighted accounting of the costs and benefits of research. A famous anecdote has an efficiency expert complaining to Henry Ford about the one fellow at the company who always seemed to have his feet up on his desk. "That man," Ford replied, "once had an idea that saved us millions of dollars."

Shapin's key concept here is uncertainty. The unpredictable path of scientific discovery—the fact that no one knows what the future might look like, or how we might get there—requires patience and flexibility on the part of research managers, a willingness to indulge the spirit of inquiry. Most lines of investigation will wind up at a dead end, some will arrive at profitability, a few will lead beyond the dreams of avarice. Shapin's final chapter traces the same logic at work among the venture capitalists who fund start-ups, the incubators of today's tomorrows. Because success is so uncertain, VCs invest in people as much as ideas, moral qualities like passion and fortitude as much as the promise of a technology or the logic of a business plan.

As for the organizational dispensation that venture capital has helped usher in, the hybridization of academy and industry, Shapin quotes voices on all sides of the debate. Some scientists, including those with experience in the private sector, deplore what they see as the conformity, hierarchy and materialism of the corporate environment. Others, though, are equally disillusioned by academia—not only the burden of teaching duties and the constant scramble for grant money but the paradoxical fact that universities, having absorbed a great deal of managerial philosophy of late, have created environments that are often more hierarchical, tightly controlled and inimical to intellectual autonomy, especially for the young scientist, than corporations. Still others welcome the integration of the two spheres. Academic researchers may put students to work on commercial projects, but that kind of training is exactly what a lot of them want, and not necessarily for materialistic reasons. Industry offers the chance to have a more immediate impact on the world: to see the results of one's work in tangible form and to contribute in direct ways to the social good. It also affords a broader range of personal challenges, a greater intellectual variety and the chance to be part of a team of equals.

All of this is unarguable as far as it goes, but it leaves most of the important contemporary questions about science and society unaddressed. To be fair, these are not really Shapin's concerns. His primary goal is to scrape away the ideological barnacles that have accreted around the image of the scientist so as to see what kinds of virtues and values scientific work actually involves. His larger theoretical agenda is to overturn the social-scientific dogma that holds that modernity involves an inexorable shift from Weberian charisma to impersonal authority, from "subjectivity to objectivity, the per-

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sonal to the methodically mechanical, the individual to the institutional": to show that the virtues of "familiar people"—specific individuals known to one another through face-to-face contact—still matter.

But even if Shapin's subject is the scientist rather than science per se, his account implies a particular view of the latter. So determined is he to avoid any hint of evaluative intent, so resolved on answering the biases of earlier commentators with a scrupulously bland descriptiveness, that he ends up projecting a kind of laissez-faire attitude. Some scientists like to work in the academy, some like to work in industry, some like to straddle the two—it's all good. But is it all good? It is for the scientists, if they can find their way to a place that suits their temperament. What matters to the rest of us, though, is not whether scientists are happy with their work but whether we are. Shapin seems to assume, and in turn implies, that no matter where scientists have done their research, we have always gotten the kind of science we need. But despite our status as the world's leading scientific nation, and despite the many undoubted triumphs of American scientific research, it is not at all clear that we have.

The real issue is precisely the one that Shapin ends up dismissing, the one that has been troubling social critics—and quite a number of scientists—since the days of Weber and before. Does the injection of the profit motive into scientific research distort the kinds of questions that get investigated and degrade the quality of the results that get produced? There are strong reasons to believe that it does. The lion's share of Nobel Prizes still comes, as it always has, from academia. Bell Labs, the crown jewel of industrial research, has produced six. Columbia, Harvard, MIT and a long list of other universities have produced several times that many each. Granted, the main province of industrial science is applied research, but how well have we done there, at least since World War II? Why is it that Japanese and German engineering—their cars, their cameras—have long been so superior to ours? Shapin speaks about the crisis of American competitiveness in the 1970s, but he doesn't pursue the inference that it reflected a failure of corporate science over the previous decades. As for the large-scale federal programs that once made up such an important share of our national identity and national pride, as these have become increasingly subject to

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Is one mind put into another
in us unknown to ourselves
by going about among trees
and fields in moonlight or in
a garden to ease distance to
fetch home spiritual things
—

SUSAN HOWE

the pressures of political interests—which is to say, of financial ones—they, too, have declined into mediocrity. On the one hand, the Manhattan Project and the moon landings; on the other, the space shuttle and Star Wars.

Given this record, do we really want to turn academic science over to the logic of the marketplace? Already, as Shapin notes (though only to show that academia may no longer be much better than industry anyway), corporate methods and values have begun to corrupt the academic enterprise. Investigators, especially those still clawing their way up the tenure ladder, are judged by the quantity, not the quality, of their scientific work, a situation that encourages small, rapid and repeated publication rather than the development of broad conceptual reach and the slow maturing of insight. (Scientists speak ironically of the LPU, or "least publishable unit," the smallest quantum of knowledge acceptable for separate publication.) Scientific fields less amenable to the new mission of technology transfer—astronomy, paleontology—find their institutional fortunes declining, to say nothing of the humanities and social sciences. Worst of all, basic research, the foundation of everything else, including long-term technological competitiveness—yes, the proverbial golden goose—is being sacrificed to the most obtuse notions of utility. The problem is most severe where government involvement, and therefore political interference, is greatest. The cancellation of the Superconducting Super Collider project in 1993 meant nothing less than the abdication of America's leadership in basic physics. (CERN's Large Hadron Collider under the Franco-Swiss border is beginning the vast exploratory work the SSC would have done.) Scientists at NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory have complained for years that valuable unmanned projects have been starved of funding to feed the scientifically dubious shuttle and space station programs.

But the most urgent argument against the continued corporatization of science lies in one of the fields where Shapin's concatenation of academic scientists, technology transfer officers and venture capitalists has been most active: biotech. Whatever the value of the drugs and devices produced by small start-ups, these companies are part of a larger system that is dominated by Big Pharma. In fact, the whole business model in biotech depends on the assumption that a firm, if successful, will be bought out by one of the major drug-makers. And as yet another wave of books has shown, Big Pharma has thoroughly corrupted the academic medical system (see "Drug Companies and Doctors: A Story of Corruption," by Marcia Angell, former editor of *The New England Journal of Medicine*, in the January 15 edition of *The New York Review of Books*). Doctors are bribed with speaking and consulting fees; institutions, with endowed chairs and funded awards; professional organizations, with the subsidization of conferences. Useless or even dangerous drugs are promoted, negative findings suppressed, research papers ghostwritten by the very companies whose medications they are supposed to be evaluating, whole conditions invented through a process Angell calls "disease-mongering" to create new markets for existing products (shyness becomes "social anxiety disorder," PMS "premenstrual dysphoric disorder"). The system works well for everyone except patients. This is what comes of thinking that scientific integrity can survive the assault of the profit motive.

So vast has the apparatus of scientific discovery and technological development become that we have all but stopped noticing it. We simply take it for granted that such wonders as theoretical physics, molecular genetics, space exploration and computer science will continue as a background condition of contemporary life. There's a certain fatalism to this. Though developments like cloning and genetic sequencing sometimes stir a bit of halfhearted professional hand-wringing among ethicists and journalists, nobody really seems to think we can do anything about them. But there have been exceptions, moments when citizens have decided not to let scientific business go on as usual. One such moment involved the AIDS community, which not only managed to change the course of research into that disease but also challenged the idea of science as a realm of pure objectivity unaffected by human bias and interest. Another involved the opposition to embryonic stem cell research, which insisted that scientific issues are not just technical but also moral ones, and largely succeeded in blocking that avenue of investigation in this country. Whatever one thinks of either development, both demonstrate that we do not have to acquiesce in the notion that scientists and the institutions that employ them are necessarily the wisest custodians of our technological future. The choice is not between the disinterested pursuit of truth for the sake of the common good and the meddling of ignorant laypeople. The choice, as it always is, is whether corporations will control our collective fate, or we will. ■

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BACK TALK

ADRIAN BELLESGUARD

Alva Noë

Alva Noë is a professor of philosophy at the University of California and author of *Out of Our Heads: Why You Are Not Your Brain, and Other Lessons From the Biology of Consciousness* (Hill and Wang, $25).

—*Christine Smallwood*

What is consciousness?

I use the word "consciousness" in a narrow sense and in a broader sense. In the narrow sense I mean the experience of seeing something, or hearing something, or having a feeling. In the broader sense I just mean the whole colorful life of the mind: our thoughts, our feelings, our hopes, the desires that shape the contours of our lives. I don't think of consciousness as something that happens in us or to us but as something that we achieve or something that we do through our action and interaction with the world around us.

Why do many scientists see consciousness as the dynamics of brains meeting worlds?

I can give a simple answer. There is a certain kind of cultural ideology that stems from the great philosophers of the early modern period, especially Descartes, and perhaps also resonates with certain religious traditions, according to which inside each of us there is a thinking thing, a locus of consciousness. Is that thinking thing inside us immaterial—is it soul-stuff? Or is it something material—is it the brain? That's the metaphor that ideologically shapes the picture.

Are fundamental experimental flaws contributing to a picture of consciousness as being seated materially inside the brain?

One place where I think there's source for concern is with the so-called brain-imaging technologies such as MRI or PET scans. Scientists have the idea that these technologies are photographing or depicting the brain in action or catching the brain in action as it thinks, as it feels, as it acts. In fact, those technologies are highly theoretically laden ways of thinking and talking about what's going on in the brain. There are many layers of interpretation and supposition. We assume that the cognitive phenomena are neural events, and we assume that the neural events correspond to metabolic processes, and we assume that the physical magnitudes we're measuring correspond to the metabolic processes. There's a sense in which these brain images are more like composite police sketches than photographs.

Does your work on consciousness have consequences for interspecies relationships, for animal rights?

The classical picture of our human predicament is that we're all interiority and the world as far as we know is nothing but a source of impingement. We're bombarded with sensory stimulation, and insofar as we think we occupy a world with an independent existence and other people, all that is really sort of conjecture; we're trapped inside the caverns of our one conscious mind. I'm offering a different picture, where the world and the others around us come first, and we are spread out and plugged in and implicated. Think of a row of bushes: each bush is interwoven with the other bushes, the roots reach down into the ground and entangle with each other. The picture that emerges is we're at home in the world, we're of the world, the world is not a projection or this alien thing, just as other people are not just merely acting bodies but are present for us as meaningful and important. The natural extension of that is to acknowledge that the species boundary is not a particularly special boundary. When you encounter life, especially animal life but not only animal life, you don't hypothesize the presence of the life around us. That there's life around us and that we get it and we recognize it is the precondition for the kind of life that we are.

So we're not just brains in vats.

Exactly. I argue that our commitment to the minds of others isn't, strictly speaking, a theoretical one; it's more like a moral or existential one. It's a condition of the kinds of relationships we enjoy with them. I couldn't love you if I thought of you as a hypothetical explanation of the sensory experiences I have when I look at you. What that seems to mean as a consequence is that it isn't possible to recognize mind in the universe from a purely disengaged, detached, objective, theoretical standpoint. And that seems to have the consequence that we can't really have a science of the mind, because science requires that you take a detached, objective attitude toward things. We don't have to accept that consequence, but we need to realize that there is a kind of natural scientific perspective on mind that is not detached, and I call that the biological perspective. Exactly the same things can be said about life. When I recognize a little bacterium as living, I'm thinking of it as not merely a locus of chemical processes; I'm thinking of it as doing things, having interests, seeking food, preserving its unity in the fluid that it's floating around in and not just dissolving. I'm singling it out as having a story, as having an identity. And you can't do that unless in some sense you already take life in a kind of primitive way for granted. We need to enrich our conception of what our so-called scientific study of these phenomena is if we really want to understand them.

What are the consequences of that?

We do not yet have an explanation of life, if by that we mean an understanding of how the merely chemical, the merely inorganic, put together in the right way produces life. It's true that, given that the chemicals are put together in the right way and you get proteins, you can tell the whole evolutionary story. But nobody knows how to make life in a test tube. And we need to recognize that. I'm trying to make a similar point about mind, but with this addition: yes, it's true that we can't explain minds just in terms of neural processes, but why should we? The neural processes, consciousness, doesn't happen inside us. You're looking for consciousness in the wrong place. Similarly, life doesn't happen inside the animal alone. Life is, like mind, something that is achieved in this sort of larger dynamic of interaction. ■

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JEFF WALL/MARIAN GOODMAN GALLERY, NEW YORK CITY

Picture for Women (1979), by Jeff Wall

Photography's Ghosts

by FRANCES RICHARD

Why Photography Matters as Art as Never Before
By Michael Fried.
Yale. 409 pp. $55.

After Photography
By Fred Ritchin.
Norton. 199 pp. $29.95.

Photography is haunted by distortions, or what philosophers and media theorists call "simulacra"—those devils or replicants that blur authentic essence and mere appearance. Pictures in general trigger these anxieties, Plato having bequeathed to Western culture a fear that overidentification with images will dull perception of a spirit that eludes sight. Photography, however, has been especially seductive, seeming to offer unmediated access to how things "really" are. As Martin Jay explains in *Downcast Eyes*, his marvelous history of antivisual themes in French thought, "Because of the physical imprinting of light waves on the plate of the camera…it might seem as if now the *oeil* was not *trompé* in Daguerre's new invention. But doubts nonetheless soon arose." By the 1840s, it was clear that even apparently direct imprinting could not rout the ghost of simulacra. "Yet as late as the Dreyfus Affair," Jay notes, "it was still necessary to warn the naïve viewer against concocted images." Photographs could be retouched or faked through double exposures—as when, in 1899, the newspaper *Le Siècle* printed composite pictures of enemies in the Dreyfus Affair appearing friendly. Technologies have drastically evolved, of course. Nevertheless, according to new books by Michael Fried and Fred Ritchin, warnings about photography's uncertainties are no less necessary.

Fried's still controversial essay "Art and Objecthood" was published in 1967, when he was in his 20s. In it, he accuses Minimalist art of "theatricality" because it plunks a de-aestheticized object—say, a steel cube—in the viewer's path and proposes that real-time engagement with this object constitutes art. Fried, who has explored the implications of his daring article across the decades, has become J.R. Herbert Boone Professor of Humanities and the History of Art at Johns Hopkins University and written a great deal else, notably a trilogy of studies shifting the emphasis from sculpture and tracing a path through eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French painting, toward the nexus of imperatives and disjunc-

Frances Richard is a writer who lives in Brooklyn, New York.

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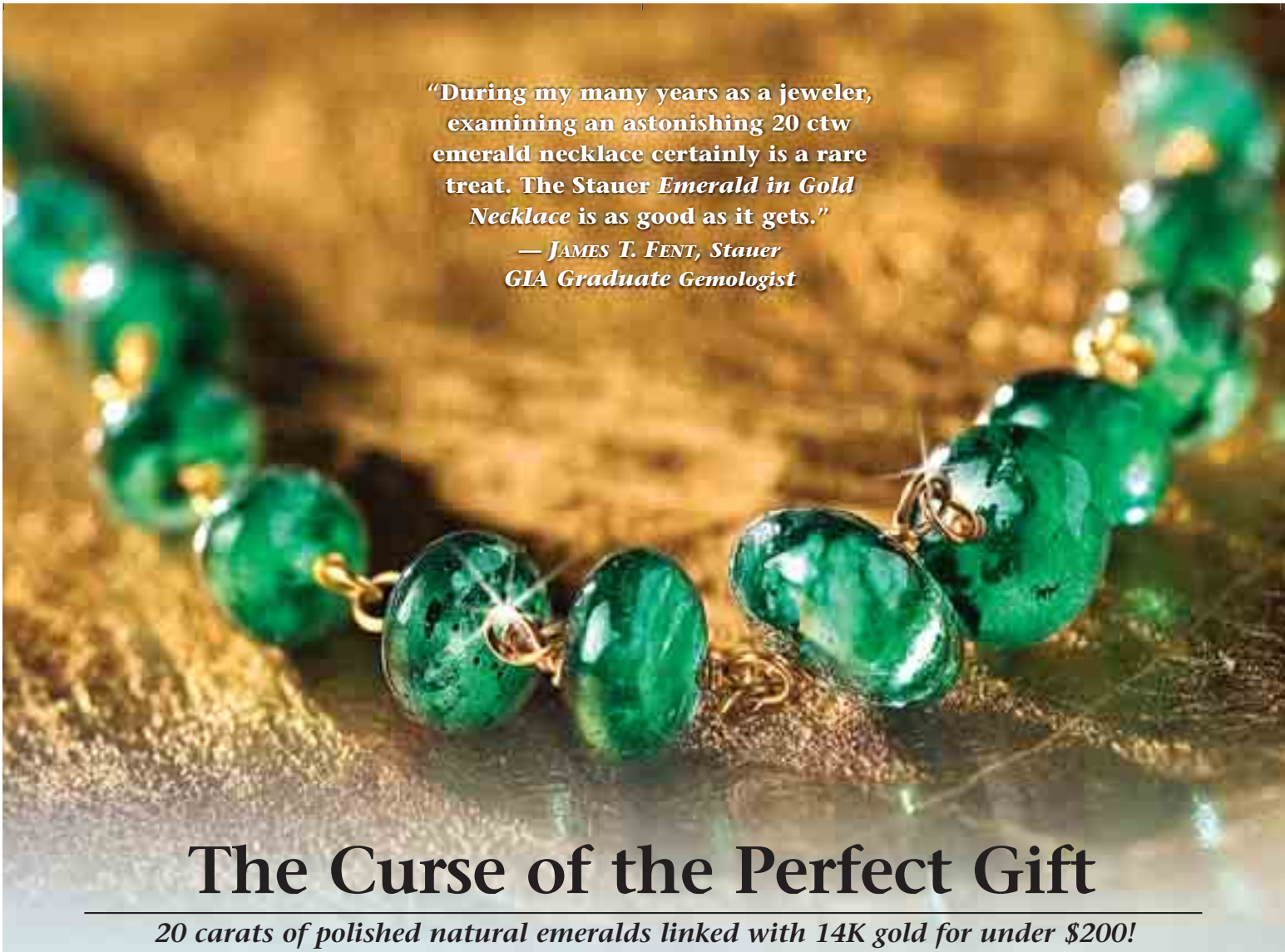
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tions that we name modernism. Through it all, he examines the convention that paintings "primordially" are "made to be beheld." This apparent no-brainer exists paradoxically in tandem with another bedrock assumption of modern visuality, "the ontological illusion that the beholder did not exist." From Chardin to Manet and on to Stella and Caro, Fried contends, artists have negotiated between self-conscious or "theatrical" display—playing to the beholder—and meditative or self-sufficient "absorption"—pretending the beholder isn't there. His new book, *Why Photography Matters as Art as Never Before*, extends the inquiry into art photography as it has developed since the '70s. Trilogy enlarges to quartet, and arguments that have engaged Fried since "Art and Objecthood" are staged anew via large-scale images produced by American and European artists. Like painters, these photographers intend for their work to be displayed on the wall. But they seek in best anti-theatrical style to keep their subjects, and their viewers, at a distance.

Fried is drawn to images in which individuals are immured in noncommunicating realms.

After Photography, by Fred Ritchin, is a very different book. Ritchin is a professor of photography and imaging at New York University and director of *PixelPress*, an online journal dedicated to documentary and social justice. He was picture editor of *The New York Times Magazine* from 1978 to 1982 and founding director of the Photojournalism and Documentary Photography Program at the International Center of Photography in New York. *After Photography* is the third book he has written or edited, and it heralds the arrival of what he calls "hyperphotography," or "Photography 2.0." The digital turn, for Ritchin, is a revolution untelevised. This is because television is analog, but more important because a collective lack of imagination has sidelined the potential of image-driven technologies into the realms of commerce and celebrity. Nevertheless, while new media are still new, we have the chance to perform unlikely feats of consciousness-raising about the effects of our image use. If we succeed, the revolution may yet be e-mailed to an iPhone or uploaded to a virtual coffeehouse in Second Life.

The two authors make strange bedfellows. Fried remains a conservative provocateur attempting to define the nature of art. Ritchin, who is a generation younger, theorizes progressive photojournalism. Fried promulgates a lineage connecting medium-specific abstraction and theories of pictorial realism, while Ritchin analyzes the impact of digitization—the manipulability of the visual document at the level of the pixel—on reportorial objectivity and public commentary about the news. Fried says nothing about journalism, and Ritchin de-emphasizes art. Both cite classics of photographic criticism from the predigital, pre-big-art-photo era, including Susan Sontag's *On Photography* (1977) and Roland Barthes's *Camera Lucida* (1981). But they consider pictures made with cameras to belong to distinct cultural systems, and they make opposite claims regarding the state of photography. Either photography matters as never before; or, as we have known it since Daguerre, it is over.

Yet reading Fried's and Ritchin's books together is a useful, if disorienting, experience. In a sense, each corrects the other's blind spot. Both authors focus on conditions of beholding, the perceptual and political opportunities and responsibilities incumbent on the person who looks at a photo, be it in a magazine, on a website, in a book or in a gallery. Both are fond of antithesis: theatrical images are bad, anti-theatrical images are good, and it's not hard to tell the difference. Or: Photography 1.0 is dead, and a wired yet lazy populace needs new literacy. Each then admits significant ambiguities. Theatrical methods are sometimes the only way to produce anti-theatrical effects; and the new literacy might cause as many problems as the old. Ritchin, not surprisingly, has more to say about the dangerous blessings of e-innovation and its disembodied spectacles. Many of the artists Fried champions also manipulate their photographs on computers and criticize neoliberalism's symptoms: commodity fetishism, tourism, racism and uneasiness about claiming an inner self in a maze of ideological mirrorings. Fried concedes this without being much impressed. His issue is not social critique but ontological perspicacity. How do photographs project conditions of truth? Ritchin's crux is precisely social. How do projected truths block or solicit well-informed, compassionate response? In short, both ponder the proper uses of artifice. For both love the image yet worry constantly about its powerful near-enemy, the histrionic come-hither simulacrum.

After Photography "makes no attempt at prophecy," Ritchin cautions. "It is rather an attempt to acknowledge the rapidly evolving present for what it is and what it might become, while engaging one of the less violent strategies for social change still extant: media." Disclaimer aside, *After Photography* predicts nothing less than the metamorphosis of our visual schemata. "Digital media work off a representational model that, while able to simulate analog media, eventually will be more transformative than the perspectival changes of the Renaissance or the experimental arts of the past century," Ritchin writes. An estimated 250 billion digital photographs were made in 2007. By 2010 "it is expected" (he doesn't say by whom) that "we" (humans worldwide) "will be producing half-a-trillion photographs annually." These virtualizable pictures may or may not record real-life activity. Nevertheless, their circulation will increasingly define how elections, tsunamis, demonstrations, melting icebergs, court decisions, famines, troop deployments and such are understood. To protect against disinformation and voyeuristic sightseeing in far-off disaster areas, the beholder must demand a digital image rendered more responsive, engineered to confess the conditions under which it was made by embedding information that might otherwise be obscured—including where and when it was shot, by whom and what has been done to it in Photoshop.

Fried sounds no alarms about fourth-estate ethics or public gullibility. Nor does he encourage interaction between the visual document and its receiver. Rather, he aims to prove that, standing before a wall-mounted photograph by the likes of Jeff Wall, Andreas Gursky or Rineke Dijkstra, the observer is forced to acknowledge isolation. These pictures do not invite identification; in fact, they rebuff it. It is "as if what ultimately is at stake in that work is precisely the depiction or evocation of a separation of worlds." Fried speaks elsewhere of "circumstances that rule out the possibility of any implied communication between the personage in the photograph and the viewer," and returns throughout his book to a comment by Sontag. "There is something on people's faces when they don't know they are being observed that never appears when they do," she writes in *On Photography*. Fried rings changes on her statement as he demonstrates how artists like Patrick Faigenbaum and Luc Delahaye exploit the mutual impermeability of actual and pictorial space. For these photographers, the wish to fix selfhood's secret flicker is itself theatricalizing. Inverting Ritchin's wholesome interactivity,

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the fantasy of access infects everything it sees. "I suggest," Fried continues,

> that once it became imaginable that a "world" could be "contaminated" by the mere fact of being beheld, the situation was ripe for the emergence of an esthetic that would accept such "contamination" as the basis of its procedures. Inevitably, that esthetic found its home in photography.

Given privacy infringement and identity piracy, an assertion that the "mere fact of being beheld" can poison a subject makes unnerving sense. For Fried, however, it is not the Patriot Act or e-mail phishing scams but eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French painting that has brought us to this pass. Art photography inherits painting's problems because painting, too, has tried to keep the pictured world uncontaminated and has found that it cannot.

Key figures in this history—as laid out in Fried's trilogy *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (1980), *Courbet's Realism* (1990) and *Manet's Modernism: or, The Face of Painting in the 1860s* (1996)—are Chardin, Greuze, David, Courbet and Manet, all discussed in terms of the writing of the father of art criticism, Denis Diderot. Fried never quite explains why these men were so keen on the fiction of a beholderless artwork. Martin Jay suggests, however, that they imbibed ambivalence about outward show and its invitations to dissembling from Jean-Jacques Rousseau. According to Jay, the author of *The Social Contract* thought that people must "become completely transparent to each other and each individual must become no less transparent to himself. Rousseau's desire to lift the veil of appearance and reveal an essential truth beneath was so intense" that it compares with that of Plato.

Right. But—hang on—isn't the goal of anti-theatrical absorption to *draw* a veil, to maintain the wall separating worlds? Yes. Or at least, Fried says, that was the Diderotian ideal. For Courbet and Manet the illusion broke down, until "by 1860 the supreme fiction, advocated by Diderot, that paintings are not made to be beheld could no longer be sustained." Painters instead began to confront looking head-on, via what Fried calls "facingness" or "to-be-seenness." Manet's *Olympia* (1863), staring down her would-be johns while glorying in naked self-merchandising, becomes the poster child of "facingness." In recent decades, large-scale art photographers have continued "to acknowledge to-be-seenness in the course of pursuing antitheatrical aims—in that sense to drive a wedge between theatricality and to-be-seenness." Olympia's stepchildren, as photographed by Beat Streuli, Philip-Lorca diCorcia and Thomas Ruff, stare toward viewers but are immured in noncommunicating realms. Their essence, if they have any, rests so far behind their eyes that no prying act of beholding can penetrate.

If the doctrine of the separation of worlds erects a *cordon sanitaire* between intrusive stage-managing and thoughtful distancing, Ritchin believes in it as much as Fried does. Reportorial objectivity and the fact that a camera can capture details missed by the naked eye are aspects of traditional photojournalism that he seeks to protect, and each in its way can "sever" (Fried's word) observer from observed. If, on the other hand, such severance precludes exchange between audience and image, Ritchin wants nothing to do with it. Documentarians in the digital dispensation have a duty, he believes, to invite commentary, modification and defiance. Viewers have a duty to respond. "Information," Ritchin argues astutely, "is not a consumer right but to be earned through the manner in which one seeks it, even in the virtual world." Accordingly, he advocates web-based work that "confounds an otherwise simplistic sense of interactivity in which there is a menu of choices but no resistance, coming out of a singularly direct, consumerist American culture." Online editors might facilitate active viewing by developing a tool kit for digital forensics:

> A new photographic template for the digital environment could be devised in which information is hidden in all the four corners of the image so that those interested could make it visible by placing the cursor over each corner to create a roll-over. The bottom right corner might contain issues of authorship and copyright; the bottom left could contain the caption and amplifying comments by the photographer; the upper left could contain responses to the image by its subjects; and the upper right could give information as to how the reader can become involved, help, learn more, by providing Web addresses and other guidance.

These are interesting proposals, and a few key early adopters might make them de rigueur. But while Fried insists on a hermetic seal between reality and image, Ritchin downplays the objection that new conventions breed new chicanery. Once institutionalized, would amplifying rollovers not be

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bastardized like any other guideline promulgating transparency and justice? Photographers, designers and editors obviously ought to be conscious about pandering to click-addicted passivity. Fundamentally, however, the essence/appearance conundrum cannot be solved by more or better data and interfaces. Images promise, and never quite deliver, reliable witness—because they can't. Complete, unadulterated transcription of the world did not exist in technologies known to Plato or Daguerre, and it doesn't exist in any we invent now. The wonder is how forcefully the problems of photographic plenitude persist.

Ritchin nods to Sontag, Barthes and numerous other writers who have wrestled with such puzzles—including Walter Benjamin, whose 1936 essay "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" remains a touchstone for techno-ethical visual criticism. Fried engages these thinkers too. He also makes extended forays into Wittgenstein, Mishima, Heidegger and Hegel. Ritchin's reader might wish for tougher dialogue with the theorist predecessors. Fried's, meanwhile, must hang on to his or her philosophical hat. In addition to extensive quotation from Fried's previous writings, and substantial asides relating to his career-long animus against Minimalist art, *Why Photography Matters as Art as Never Before* includes a Hegelian chapter called "'Good' versus 'Bad' Objecthood" (related to "genuine," or present, versus "spurious," or invisible infinity) and another centered on Heidegger's distinction between "ready-to-hand" and "present-at-hand." (Compare a hammer used to pound nails to a broken hammer, one confidently grasped as a means to an end, the other suddenly betrayed into lumpen thingness.)

Nuances notwithstanding, Fried's antagonisms are less rigid than his antithetical terms suggest. He reflects, for example, that things depicted in photographs have traditionally—wrongly—been regarded as broken hammers, mutely present-at-hand in the unmodulated continuum of matter. (This is more or less what Barthes meant when he famously called the photograph "*a message without a code*.") However, as Fried elaborates, when Wall sets forth a dizzying array of objects in a photograph like *After "Invisible Man" by Ralph Ellison, the Prologue* (1999–2001), the light bulbs, furniture, clothing and other junk that cram the basement lair have all been placed exactly and symbolically by the protagonist, by Ellison, by Wall. They are not dumbly "present-at-hand" at all. Similarly, in the photographic grids of Bernd and Hilla Becher, the artists' taxonomies of obsolete water towers, blast furnaces and the like—shot in deadpan black-and-white—can in principle be infinitely extended but in practice are rigorously controlled. "The infinity at play in such incompleteness," Fried explains, "is of the kind Hegel calls 'true' or 'genuine.'" A less polemical argument might put the play of incompleteness first. This would alleviate the necessity of admitting (halfway through the book) "the embarrassing truth is that the entire issue of absorption in photography is more complex, less 'pure,' than it is usually made out to be."

For Ritchin, the fiction that the beholder does not exist is a pernicious cover for power.

German idealism and French poststructuralism, Canadian and German artists, an American novel and a bristling handful of buzzwords all packed in a paragraph: it's difficult not to write like this when discussing Fried's work. Doubling back to Ritchin and the emergence of "hyper-photography," the story is refreshingly—possibly deceptively—simpler. According to *After Photography*, Photography 2.0 emerges not from centuries-long intellectual adaptation but from the rupture consummated in a single editorial sleight-of-hand:

> If I had to pick a date when the digital era came to photography, it would be 1982. It was then that *National Geographic*'s staff modified a horizontal photograph of the pyramids of Giza and made it vertical, suitable for the magazine's February cover. They electronically moved a section of the photograph depicting one of the pyramids to a position partially behind another pyramid, rather than next to it. It was a banal change—after all, the original photograph was an already romanticized version of the scene that excluded the garbage, tourist buses, and souvenir hawkers—but it opened the digital door.

Later, *National Geographic* editor in chief Wilbur Garrett reportedly claimed that the fix equaled, in Ritchin's words, "merely the retroactive repositioning of the photographer a few feet to one side so as to get another point of view." But Robert Gilka, then the magazine's director of photography, countered that the introduction of the technique was "like limited nuclear warfare. There ain't none." Indeed, as Ritchin shows, more disquieting doctorings have included the darkening of O.J. Simpson's complexion on a *Time* magazine cover in 1994 and the juxtaposing, on a conservative website in 2004, of young John Kerry with "Hanoi Jane" Fonda. The propagandists who pirated Kerry's picture also forged an Associated Press credit for the shot. Such dirty tricks, of course, are not the same as forwarding a cellphone snapshot to a friend, or even inventing a virtual double who spends virtual money in a quasi-utopian virtual community. Digital devices enable them all, nonetheless, and Ritchin's survey of the tech-scape seeks to remind viewers of their troubling, exciting intertwining.

Fried implies that he can set aside the issue of digitization, and the visions of a flattened, all-commodity world that it transmits, because manipulation has been the name of the image game since the 1730s. Digitization may or may not change anything important.

> The issue of "truthfulness" versus "falseness" in this connection already looks beyond…painting, with respect to which it makes no sense to ask what a personage in a canvas is "actually" or "truly" doing, thinking, or feeling, toward the mechanical reproduction of reality in photography, with respect to which such questions are inescapable. (Or with respect to which such questions *have been* inescapable; I am thinking of the advent of digitization, the consequences of which for photographic practice and theory have yet to become fully clear.)

This bracketing of the problem prompting Ritchin's entire exegesis is literal; Fried relegates digitization to parentheses. Regarding, for example, Thomas Struth's "Audience" series—apparently candid shots of museumgoers—he asserts,

> we sense intuitively that the actions and expressions of the tourists—also their distribution in space—are genuine, spontaneous, Diderot might say "naïve," one of his highest terms of esthetic praise. (We sense this, I say, but we might be mistaken: since the

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> advent of digitization it has become possible for scenes such as these to be staged.... In actual fact that is not true of the "Audience" series. However, technologically we are forever now on insecure ground....)

Of Gursky, he remarks, "(I am deliberately putting to one side the question of the digital manipulation of his pictures, to which I shall shortly turn.)" He does turn there, noting that

> commentators on Gursky's art have noted his interest in subjects—such as the Siemens plant at Karlsruhe, the Tokyo, Chicago, and Hong Kong stock exchanges, the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank building in Hong Kong, and the coolly lit modernist shelves lined with Prada shoes or Nike sneakers—that belong to the social and economic phenomenon known as globalization. As in the case of his use of digitization, I have nothing to add except to say that this too fits my larger thesis.

Shift again from art to journalism, and such sophisticated, absorptive phantasmagoria are exactly what Ritchin wants to undo. For Ritchin, the "ontological illusion that the beholder did not exist"—that images float unmoored from living creators or perceivers—can't help but be a pernicious cover for power, be it corporate interest or state ideology.

Fried discusses twenty photographers in some detail. Just one of them—Hiroshi Sugimoto—is not European, American or Canadian. Women contribute sixteen out of the 213 illustrations in the gorgeously produced *Why Photography Matters as Art as Never Before*. The number rises slightly if collaborations between the husband-and-wife Bechers are included. But then, regarding Cindy Sherman, Fried declares that he finds "almost all her work" after 1981 uninteresting. So, de facto, Dijkstra and Candida Höfer are the only female artists, and Sugimoto is the only artist of color, whose work sustains the critic and historian's attention. How can a compelling theory of the most important image-regime of the past hundred years fail to account for work produced by artists who are not white men? Fried would likely dismiss head-counting as irrelevant to his emphasis on the interrogation of pictorial aesthetics as pursued since 1970. But haven't we spent those same decades extricating ourselves from such circular logics of "quality"? The emphasis on historical continuity here sours.

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I quail to say so, though. Fried countenances little deviation from his view, so that despite his capacious consideration of matters poetic and theoretical, his argument feels narrow. He goes so far as to "preempt" queries regarding narrowness. As he states in the introduction, *Why Photography Matters as Art as Never Before* relates closely to his preceding trilogy:

> This means, among other things, that the chapters that follow constantly refer to my own earlier writings; I declare this up front, to preempt the facile criticism that I am excessively preoccupied with my own ideas. I *am* preoccupied with those ideas, for the simple reason that they seem to me to hold the key to much (far from everything, much less than half of everything, but still, a great deal) in the pictorial arts of the past 250 years.

Let it be so noted.

Ritchin has none of Fried's hauteur, but his style also tends toward hyperbolic pronouncement. We might give him a pass on flare-ups of melodrama ("Cause and effect, even life and death, flicker nostalgically in the rearview mirror that is now the twentieth century"). Occasionally, though, his hyperbole obscures a deeper point. "The originality and spontaneity of experience is at stake, with a chance to be revived." What do these words mean? Were originality and spontaneity guaranteed by old-fashioned Photography 1.0, with its portraits of fairies and darkroom obliterations of fallen Soviet commissars? If photo fakery is as old as photos themselves, whither revolution?

The answer lies, perhaps, in the drastically altered economies of time that Ritchin analyzes. Digital media deliver data, and the opportunity to rewrite data, with instantaneous rapidity. This is revolutionary. Very Large-Scale Conversations (to use a term from information theorist Warren Sack) can now be joined by anyone with an online connection and the social freedom, or daring, to use it. This is very large-scale democratization. As Ritchin argues, crowdsourcing, wikis and *sousveillance* ("vigilance from underneath") have the potential to transform fact-gathering and the communal conversations dependent on it—albeit in terms of ever-fluctuating access and potentially problematic speed rather than some stable, transcendent "truth." Diderot the skeptical encyclopedist would be fascinated. ■

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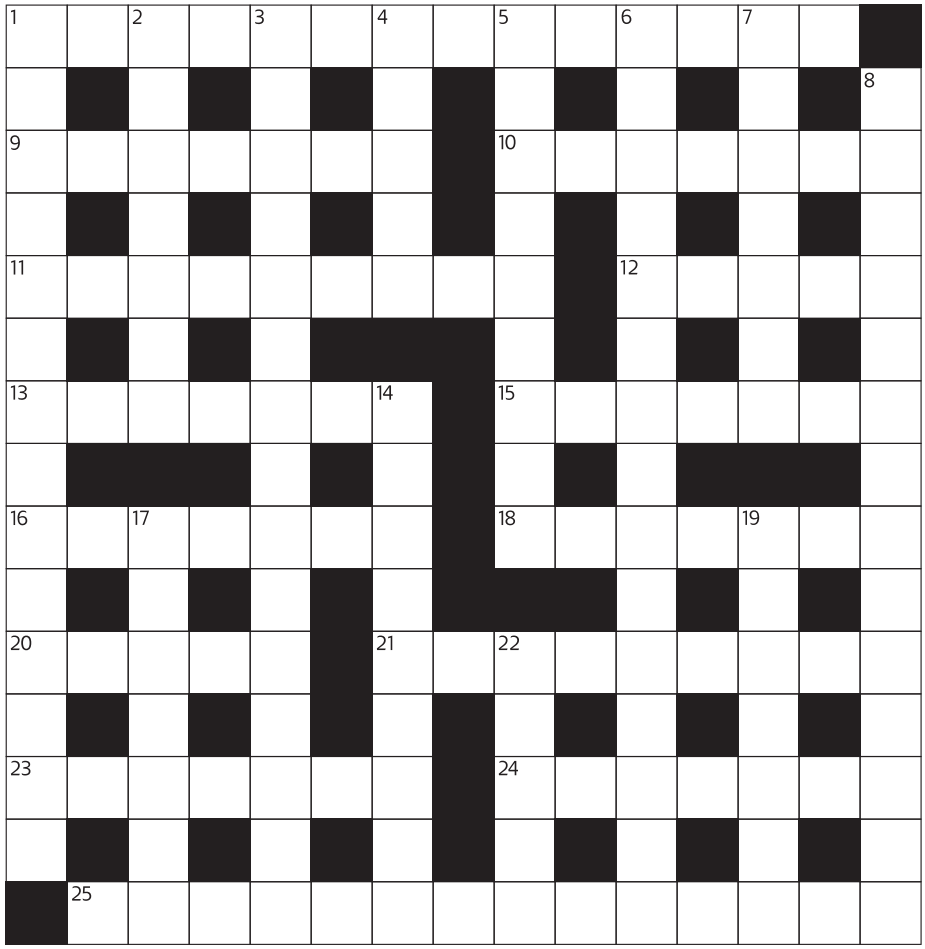

ACROSS

1 Evidently something like the puma pounces—but such are not legitimate occasions of inaction. (7,7)

9 Where a takeoff is likely to show what the careful wine lover might do to freshen things up. (7)

10 Ricky is a real funny guy in some-place in South America. (7)

11 Contented with things poorly set, if said this way. (9)

12 Joint US-Canadian effort, and/or problematic! (5)

13 Stop the headway of a vessel. (5,2)

15 What's in a name? Light-emitting diode! But it's all backward for a Nobel Prize winner for medicine. (7)

16 Villainous action scattered dimes before Ed. (7)

18 Springs in the old-fashioned way? (7)

20 It could be cuter, but that's what stops the fighting! (5)

21 Briefly noted Rhode Island prison gains little interest and finally nothing, yet shows how a young thing will attain maturity. (5,4)

23 Tempted to get what sounds like tea on frozen cubes, in the last stage. (7)

24 In fun it ingeniously is coming together. (7)

25 Puzzled accountants try to make this, but the man on the wire should never lose it. (5,2,7)

DOWN

1 Questioning the stuff things are made of by asking, "Is something wrong"? (5,3,6)

2 Just the girl to alter a problem! (7)

3 Slightly angry statements made in many a thesis? (5-10)

4 Getting all together in a musical sense. (5)

5 A worn-down state, but what's on the wheel sends wrong results. (9)

6 If it's nothing much to 1 down, it's because it's this. (15)

7 It doesn't get beat inside your head—it's read incorrectly, but with spirit. (7)

8 One's mouth does—but it's a way to shut it. (4,4,6)

14 Decapitated Ford hits addled deer, to finally spell it out: when one is this, one doesn't have much choice. (7,2)

17 What you might take to go back and forth. (7)

19 Appropriate results from scrambled coding around the first of November. (7)

22 Jack Horner's find gets a good grade? Absolutely! (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 3159

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Sacco-Vanzetti Trail.

In death, two Italian immigrants became heroes of the working people. Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, a fishmonger and cobbler, had been convicted at an Alice in Wonderlandish trial before a prejudiced judge on mostly hearsay testimony. Their funeral procession along Boston's Hanover Street drew thousands of mourners. Sacco Venezetti Commemoration Society, 33 Harrison Avenue, Boston, MA 02111.

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Edward Koren

Stonewall Inn.

It was a sweaty steamy night in June 1969; Judy Garland's funeral had taken place earlier that day. The police made one of their routine raids on the Stonewall Inn, a Greenwich Village gay bar. Usually they'd encounter no resistance but not this time. The embattled gays and lesbians fought back with such vehemence that the cops had to lock themselves in the bar until a SWAT team freed them. A month later, the Gay Liberation Front was formed and the gay rights movement stepped out of the closet. 53 Christopher Street, New York, NY 10014.

Federal Correctional Institution, Ashland.

In June 1950, John Howard Lawson, screenwriter and first president of the Screen Writers' Guild, and Dalton Trumbo, novelist and screenwriter, each began serving one-year prison terms for refusing to testify at the 1947 HUAC hearings whether they belonged to the Communist Party. State Route 716, Ashland, KY 41105.

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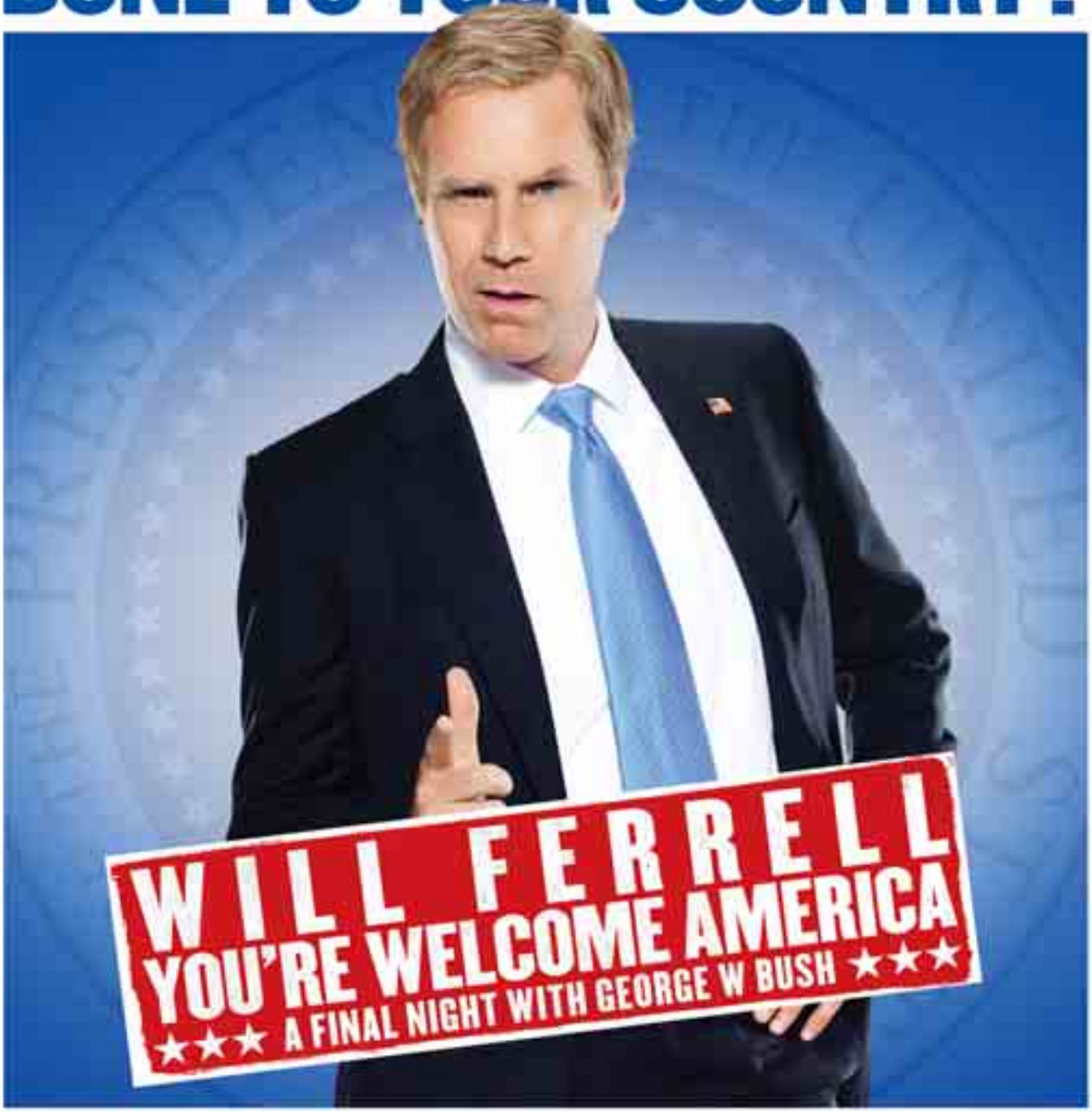

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